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DIVISION OF LABOR

Sexual division of labor was not ironbound but was sufficiently definite to permit of a general statement. Hunting was the male province, but women often assisted, as in communal drives and the capture of water fowl. Traps for small game, such as sage hens, might be set by women or even girls. All equipment connected with the hunt, such as weapons, snowshoes, etc., was made by the men. In net making women might twist the bark fiber, but men did the netting "because they knew how." Such stone working as there was seems to have been done by the men, although with a domestic article as the metate, women seem occasionally to have taken a hand. 462

Women were concerned with the gathering of roots, seeds, berries, and insects, but men occasionally assisted with the last mentioned. Women also prepared food, hauled wood and water, and generally concerned themselves with domestic tasks. Men, home from the hunt, are said to have done the grinding when women were out gathering. Handicrafts such as basketry and sewing were preeminently a woman's work, although it is interesting to note that a man sewed his own quiver.

Both men and women cooperated in house building, the men setting the frame, the women applying the covering. Both sexes also worked hides, although the skinning, as an adjunct of hunting, was always done by the man. Both sexes likewise made rabbitskin blankets.

It is quite apparent that the sexual division of labor followed normal cleavage lines, men engaging in the violent and sporadic tasks, women in the less active and more continuous pursuits.

HUNTING

A boy was eight or nine years old when he started to hunt. After a light snowfall he was sent out to track cottontails and often would bring a few home. A small boy was also directed to hunt wildcats as they climbed in the junipers. He stood beneath the tree and shot the animal with his bow. 224 857

When a boy was ten or eleven years old he learned to hunt deer. He accompanied his father and was given instruction in technique. 224 868

If I have a boy I tell him how to hunt. I say, "Get up before daylight and go to the hill. Soon you will see deer. Get close and kill one. You must watch

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224 the wind. Be sure to walk carefully. Watch the rocks where you step. Don't fall down or make a noise" (JB).

868 My father said, "You must watch the wind when you hunt so that the deer will not scent you. Track deer all day; then you will catch them easily. Get them early in the morning. Groundhog is the same way as deer. It is frightened if it scents you. But rabbits, ducks, and geese are not afraid; they do not smell" (CW).

A boy was not allowed to eat his first game, otherwise he would never become a successful hunter. When he had shot his first deer, or possibly antelope as an alternative, he was required to go through a set procedure, after which the food taboo was removed and good luck assured him. An account of this performance[17] follows:

A man told his son, "Do not eat the first deer you kill. Butcher it and hang it up. Then let me know. I will go with you to bring back the meat."

Once I killed a deer up above Lake City. My father came and asked me, "What kind of tree would you like? Service?" I said, "Yes, that is stout; maybe it will make me strong." Then we cut green service to make a ring. I pulled over the stem and my father cut it, saying "I cut you." Then he sliced thin meat from inside the ribs and twisted it around that service ring.

Then my father told me, "Take off your shirt, your moccasins. Take the beads from your neck." I took off my clothes. My father said "Step in this ring. Do it carefully; be sure not to touch it." I did that, and he lifted the ring up over my head and then let it down, and I stepped out. Then he put it over my head and pulled it down. I stood still. "Step over," he said. Every time my father did this he called all kinds of game—goose, swan, mountain sheep, bear, elk, and otter.

This is called natsa'-dihi'nin,[18] and afterwards a person will always be lucky. My father said, "You can eat this meat tomorrow." I wanted some that day, but I waited (JB).

The account given by Pindy was in substantial agreement with the foregoing but differed slightly in detail. A willow was used in lieu of service, and the meat was strewn on the ground and the youth required to step over it. At the conclusion of the performance, the boy was allowed to eat any part of the animal he wished. Although he had previously killed small game, such as rabbits, he had not been allowed to eat them.

224 777 Success in hunting was a matter of luck and skill, but the former was not attributed to any particular factor. Continence, which seems to be a widespread requisite, was reported by one informant[19] but denied by others.[20] According to Pindy:

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[17] Cf. Hopkins, 50.

[18] I am not sure if this term applies to the whole performance, or to the ring, or to both. It is probably the first, as Pindy said, "It is the same way they call skinning an animal," a neat case of imitative magic.

[19] DB.

[20] NO, JB, P.

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I'm a deer hunter and I don't know any way to bring luck. Sometimes people dreamed of killing game and it brought good luck. I was a good hunter long ago when my eyes were strong, but I never had such a dream. 224 777

Charms were not ordinarily carried, but according to Daisy, "Sometimes they cut little things (fetishes) from the legs of deer and carry them along. The deer can smell them a long way off and they come." In the old days a deer hunter took a sweat bath and prayed to the sun at dawn.[21] Nowadays persons who have hunted several days without success sometimes resort to the sweat-lodge.

ANIMAL FOODS

Deer (dühü'te) and antelope (dü'na') were the two chief larger game animals. One informant had heard of buffalo (pagu'ts[a]),[22] which he said were hunted on the other side of Eagleville. All informants knew of mountain sheep (koip[a]), although none had ever seen one. They were not found in Surprise but occurred beyond Plush as well as this side of Gerlach, Nevada. The hunter sighted his quarry and attempted to sneak close enough to shoot. He occasionally wore an antelope disguise, but this seems not to have been usual. 224

Deer.—Deer were hunted the year round. They were sometimes stalked, but this method was used principally in the north, around Adel and Plush, and but rarely in Surprise. The hunter wore an antelope head with ears and horns attached, but no body disguise.

One or two men might organize a deer hunt and on the following day the party would go forth, eight or ten strong. When five or six animals were located in the brush, two men would go in and frighten them; the others shooting as the deer ran past. The two or three brought down were skinned and butchered on the spot. The hide went to the one whose arrow had killed the deer; the head and back sinews went to the "boss"; the meat was divided evenly. It was cut with a six-inch obsidian knife which was carried about the waist in the same sack with fire sticks.

Deer were never taken in nets but were sometimes captured in pitfalls.[23] A hole, five or six feet in width and the same in depth,

[21] This point is of some interest as Dr. Lowie tells me that the Washo claim to use the sweat-lodge only in connection with deer hunting. Among the Wishram (Spier and Sapir, 180) men sweated preliminary to a hunt. The Navaho myth of the Mountain Chant (Matthews, 339–390) associates sweating with success in the chase.

[22] From pa, water. These Paiute have the belief that the buffalo comes from the water.

[23] The Achomawi are said to employ this technique.

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● 224 was dug on a deer trail and covered with small sticks, pine needles, etc. The hunter came there at night and watched. Sometimes he caught two deer this way. The animals were not shot but were dispatched by a sharp jab with a stick. The pitfall method was "a little too hard" because of the time and labor involved in digging and was infrequently employed. It was never used for antelope.

The only means of taking deer wholesale was by firing. This method was called kupi'tᵈ and was practiced in late summer, about the middle of August. When deer were sighted on a hill, a group of hunters hastened there, some on either slope of the mountain. They started fires, working them around until the band was completely encircled. This accomplished, the fires were brought closer, constricting the circle until the animals were bunched on the crest of the hill where they could be shot conveniently. Deer firing was ordinarily executed without undue noise, but if a bear were accidentally caught in the fire, a great hue and cry was set up to warn the others and to inform them in which direction the animal was headed. Upon hearing the shouts, someone would sneak into the circle and conceal himself until he had opportunity to let fly. Deer were never driven into a corral "because they lived in the mountains and not in the open country."

Joshua Brown gave an account of deer hunting which is of particular interest because it involves individual hunting rights:

> Deer have a road; they go south for winter. My father had a place on a rock butte at the head of Buck canyon. He made a brush fence running downhill from each side of the butte where he left an open place like a gateway. He hid in a hole about ten feet from the road, and as the deer came through the gate, he shot. He killed one every night.
>
> One night my brother and I went there. My brother said I was too young to go, but I went anyway. I had a little bow and arrow. I went to sleep. When the deer came by my brother woke me and told me to keep still. He shot with a big bow which he held horizontally so the animals wouldn't see it.
>
> When my father went to Yainax he told his friend Oahibe he could use the place. Nobody else could go. When my father died anybody could use it.

Antelope.—Antelope were stalked, but, as with deer, this was more frequently practiced in Warner than in Surprise. The hunter wore an antelope head with the small horns attached and also a hide body disguise. The latter was not necessary for deer stalking, but was required for the more alert antelope. The hunter carried white paint in a sack, and when he approached the animals he smeared it on his face and arms and on his body and legs below the hide covering. He carried a stick about the length of the antelope's leg as an aid in

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walking and gradually got within shooting range by imitating the movements of the animal, pawing the ground and simulating grazing in order to make the deception realistic. The antelope disguise was called dūna'-dus. 224

In the fall of the year four or five persons cooperated in hunting antelope. One or two would hide and the remaining members of the party would go far around, approaching the herd from the opposite direction and frightening them toward the concealed marksmen.

According to Dr. Sam, a herd might start for the rim, pursued by the hunter. "Any kind of game" might be so caught, even elk (pa'dūhūte; pa, water, dūhū'te, deer).[24] As Gidū'tikad informants denied driving game over a cut bank, this statement may hold only for the Silver lake band.

In winter, when antelope ran in large herds, they were driven into brush corrals and slaughtered in great numbers. This is the so-called "antelope charming," several accounts of which follow. 224 789 622

Two men here and one in Warner could charm antelope. Charlie Washo's father could drive them into the corral like cattle.

One or two men were bosses, just as in the rabbit hunt. The headman (boss) sent one or two young fellows to look around for a band of antelope. In the evening they said, "We found one band." Then the boss called everyone; 15 or 20 camps came, maybe 100 men. In the evening that headman talked like a doctor, not like a common man: "We are going to have a song. We'll make them turn here." They had singing.

The doctor (headman) took a stick about so long,[25] and a string of horse hair (or other string before we got horses; maybe a deer string), and twisted this around the stick. Then he took off his coat, put it on a hide, and folded it into a bundle about four feet long like a body. He tied it tight lengthwise with a rope. Then he rubbed the rope with his stick, and made a noise on the string like a violin.

The boss faced the antelope; the young men faced him, and the other men sat around the fire in a circle, inside a brush fence. They sang maybe ten songs. They danced and made a noise like antelope.

The doctor (headman) stood up. The young men touched all the dancers and knocked them down. Then the boss sat down. All was quiet.

Soon there was talking, "The antelope come. Get up, boys. What do we know? The antelope are looking this way. They will come tomorrow. They say, 'If you do no wrong we shall come. You boys and girls, mind well.'"

We had a circular brush corral, two miles [sic] around, with an opening each side of which everybody lined up in a long wing. Four or five men went after the antelope. The boss stayed at the corral and directed the people: "The antelope are coming. Watch out. All steady; all quiet."

As the antelope galloped between the wings into the corral they never were frightened. If angry they would escape through a wing. The doctor stood

[24] Which seem to have been extremely rare.

[25] About 18 inches.

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in the center of the corral with a married woman [not his wife], who knelt. He told her, "Don't move. The antelope will come to you. Don't be frightened." She kept still.

We camped in a circle and before sundown built campfires. The headman came to me and said, "Steady, take off your cap and scare them for about three hours until the sun is over there [indicating mid-afternoon]."

One man scared them around inside the corral until the headman said, "That's enough. They are tired already. When the headman said this, all the men tried to get one antelope apiece. The first man who shot a big buck put it in the center where the woman knelt (JB).

Just one man can charm antelope; I don't know how he learns. He is like a doctor. He sits with everyone in the circle and sings, making music on a doe hide (deer or antelope) that is stuffed with clothes and tied with string. If the people know how, they help him sing. A plain stick (unnamed) is wrapped with any kind of braid, and the charmer works it back and forth on the bundle. After a long time he says, "They haven't looked at us yet." Finally he says, "The deer are coming," and falls unconscious on his drum and visions an antelope. Finally he recovers, sits up, says: "We are sure to kill antelope. I see them coming inside the corral. I see them lying there."

They have already placed sagebrush, root ends up, in a big circle, about as far as from here to camp.[26] There were many people so it didn't take long to pile the brush. Men and women line up in wings by an opening in the circle, the women nearest the corral, the men at the outer ends.

Then the fastest runner goes out, returning when he has sighted a herd of antelope. Then the men go out in 2 parties and circle the herd and drive them in. They close the opening of the corral and stand between the piles of sagebrush that form the corral. If an animal starts their way, they head him back.

The fastest runner chases the antelope around in the corral until they are tired and frightened, when he kills a doe and throws it on top of a sagebrush pile in the center, and then a buck. They eat these two first and everybody gets a share. Then the headman tells his people it is their turn to shoot. They shoot from the circle as the animals approach. A wife stands with each man and drags away his kill. A man (charmer or fastest runner?) stands in the center with a woman (maybe his wife), who takes the animals he kills.

When they stop for the night, the fastest runner guards the antelope. They set fire to that sagebrush[27] to frighten the animals.

The headman tells them to go ahead and kill. There are so many animals that they don't have to divide them; they never kill all of them, some escaping. Almost everyone kills one. Sometimes an antelope becomes so tired that it falls down, and a woman can kill it. A woman might even kill two or three.

The headman shoots too; he takes most of the buck horns, but not the does'. They put the horns on a pile of sagebrush in the middle of the camp circle. All the heads are turned towards the charmer's camp. He wants everyone to come. They cook the heads under the ashes and all eat, each person perhaps getting one head.

They butcher the antelope and dry the meat on sagebrush bushes. Coyotes and wolves never bother it.

When there is no sagebrush for a corral, they braid sagebrush bark and make a fence by tying it to posts about four feet tall. Loose strands of bark

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[26] About a half-mile.

[27] These seem to be the only circumstances under which antelope are fired.

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hang down the poles and when the antelope are in the corral the people pull the braid, and the loose strands wave.

I have done this kind of antelope hunting. In winter the antelope are in big herds and that's the time to kill them. This kind of hunt is called ku'u'; many camps join. They tell everybody to come.

It takes just one day to charm antelope (P).[28]

In the old days they made a sagebrush corral and danced around it. They did not smoke. The weakest woman knocked over each man in imitation of an antelope. As each fell, he said, "Au, ao, au."

Early in the morning when all the antelope were knocked, the people went out in two parties and drove them into the corral.

The antelope boss was a doctor. He wore an antelope head with horns and stayed behind in a corner of the corral.

Then the people took off their clothes, put them in a big bundle, and tied it with cord from the neck of an antelope. Then the doctor took a good straight (unnotched) stick and made music on that bundle.[29]

The first antelope killed was given to the boss. Sometimes two hundred were killed and divided evenly among all. If one person got more than his share the people would never be able to catch antelope again (TA).

When they were charming antelope, everybody stood up. The doctor made the antelope act as if they were poisoned. They got tired and ran slowly. Then the boss told one man to chase them. Every now and then the man would call out. Soon he caught one back and threw it on a stack of brush, then another and threw it on top of the first. Then everybody went after them.

The boss got all the heads. They cooked them in the ground, covered with grass and dirt and with a fire on top. Then all the people came and ate them (BA).

Long ago many people were starving. My great-uncle told them to come to him and he would charm antelope for them. Many came. He made a big circle with piles of sagebrush and told a man and woman to stand at each pile of sagebrush. He said not to drop any clothing, or the antelope would run through the hole.

He went out alone on foot and drove in forty or fifty antelope. Then they had plenty to cook (DB).

One way to get antelope is to have a doctor do it. A doctor sent two men to sight antelope. When they returned he had the people stack sagebrush in piles (wa'i'te) to form a great corral, leaving a wide gap for an entrance.

Then the doctor asked all the people to come. They put out the fires and gathered. The doctor made his things into a bundle and tied it with sagebrush-back twine. He took a notched stick[30] and made music.

He picked out ten men to dance and these ran around making noises like an antelope. The doctor sang, "The antelope are coming; I scent them coming through the canyon." Then he fainted, falling to the ground, his body hot and smoking. Finally he got up and said, "We have two, a doe and a fawn."

Next morning everybody went to the corral and surrounded the antelope. They made noises like wolves, and the antelope came into the corral. One man was selected who walked up and caught a doe and a fawn which were called "first luck," and divided among everyone.

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[28] But the killing evidently continues into the second day.

[29] In other accounts the music comes before the animals are driven into the corral and this is probably a slip in sequence.

[30] Dr. Sam here reports the notched stick for the Silver Lake band, but it was explicitly denied by Gidü'tikadᵘ informants.

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224 622 789 They kept these antelope there all night. Nobody had to watch them. Just this man who caught the doe and the fawn killed the antelope for the people. It took him two days.

Sometimes they stretched a long rope of sagebrush around like a corral. To it they tied bunches of sagebrush which shook and frightened the animals as they moved about.

Afterward they had a big feast. The doctor got most of the heads. They roasted them in the ground. The hides were dirtied. The doctor gathered all the horns which he strung and were about his neck. A doctor never hunted, but he went where they killed the game. He had just certain medicine for game (SW).

These several accounts have been included because, though two or three are obviously cursory, each contributes something novel in the way of detail and, at the same time, confirms the general features of the procedure. It is of some interest that the notched stick figures only in the account of Dr. Sam; Gidü'tikad[3] informants vigorously denied its use.[31] None had heard of charming horses[32] and the suggestion was received with great amusement. Now and then a certain person could charm bears. He could make a bear "so tame that it would come right up to him." Deer were not charmed "because they aren't in bands and aren't in open country," not, apparently, because of any innate incapacity.

224 *Bear.*—Pindy gave names for three kinds of bear: padu'a'[s], grizzly oha'-paiyuna'[s] (oha', yellow, tan)) brown bear;[33] toka'-kwatea'[s], black bear. Pa'hwa', father's sister, is a term applied to any kind of bear; soma'[s] is also bear, perhaps only grizzly.

Bears were plentiful in Warner range and Fandango pass (Padu'a'-agan) derives its native name from that fact. In the old days, before the Paiute had horses, they shot bears from ambush. Early in the morning one or two hunters would conceal themselves in thick brush near a plot from which roots had been dug and shoot the bear when it came in search of roots. It was skinned and butchered; the hide was taken directly to camp and the meat left for a subsequent trip. In more recent times bears were hunted from horseback. The hunter went forth early in the morning carrying a spear in addition to his bow.

In winter several men would hunt bear. They tracked the animal to its hole into which they thrust a dry tree. The hunters then stood to one side, calling, and shouting.[34] Eventually the bear emerged,

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[31] See section on Musical Instruments for further discussion.

[32] Which Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, 57, claimed her brother could do.

[33] De Angulo, 329, gives oha'yo'na as grizzly bear.

[34] Hallowell, 53, discusses the matter of address. Informants claim that they do not address a statement to the animal but only shout to attract its attention.

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slowly, its progress impeded by the limbs of the tree. The hunters aimed at the jaw; two or three arrows were required to kill. There was no address of apology or other trait of the complex discussed by Hallowell; but the bear is said to pound on the ground and ask the earth if anyone is talking about it or ridiculing it. The earth gives such information, and the bear takes revenge on the offending individual.

Wildcat.—Wildcat (duhu^{n}) was hunted with the bow. The flesh was considered edible and the hide highly prized. Small boys were sent out to shoot wildcats with bow and arrow. They stood beneath a juniper and shot the animal as it climbed in the tree.

Groundhog.—Groundhog (gidi^{i}) was hunted in summer. In the old days it was run down by the native dog. If it were caught before reaching its hole, the dog would hold it until the hunter arrived; but if he were too slow, the dog would kill the animal. If the groundhog were run to its hole, it was pulled forth with a stick, hooked according to one informant, straight according to others. It was given a sharp crack on the jaw and carried to camp in a bag slung on the hunter's back. Groundhog meat remains a fairly important item in Paiute diet even today.

Minor game animals.—Badger (hu^{n}na) was not hunted, but if a person happened upon one he shot it. Raccoon (pata'kai^{n}) was chased along the creek and shot with the bow. Porcupine (sagwi'd^{i}) was hunted in the junipers in summer. Sometimes at night a hunter attracted the animal by bearing a torch of juniper or sagebrush. Otter (pata'gu) was shot with the bow. Both flesh and pelt were utilized. Skunks (podi'ti^{i}) were never hunted according to Pindy, but Minnie Anderson said that they were hunted at night. They were found in caves and smoked, because when death resulted this way there was no odor. They were extracted by twisting a stick in the skin and pulling on it. The hide was used and, according to Minnie, the flesh as well.

Squirrels.—Ground squirrels (kigwi'), *Citellus douglasii*,[10] were hunted with the dog. They were run beneath a rock and pulled out by twisting a straight stick in the skin. Charlie Washo said that they were hunted particularly in midsummer this side of Fandango.

Smaller squirrels (sipi'e'), *C. oregonus*, were caught in great numbers. They were captured in traps which from description seem iden-

[10] This, as well as the identification following, is through the kindness of Mr. A. Hupe of the United States Biological Survey.

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● 224 tical with the small one figured in Loud and Harrington.[36] A person might set such traps at twenty-five holes; often he set one either side of the hole. "Anybody could trap squirrels this way—a man, a woman, or even a girl."[37] Nowadays these squirrels[38] are shot with a gun, and a white family at Cedarville makes a practice of hunting them Sunday mornings and peddling them to the Indians for five cents apiece.

Rabbits.—In the fall and continuing into January, jackrabbits (kazil') were taken in communal drives. Nets (wa'na) about two feet in height and with meshes "just big enough for a rabbit's head" were strung in a straight line[39] perhaps four hundred feet long. There were at least two or three such nets, and their owners were the headmen for the drive. These men stood at the nets, a man at each intersection. Rabbits were driven in, one or two at a time. When a plot was exhausted they shifted the nets and drove in a different direction. Women stood by and watched; they also helped drive the animals into the net. Girls might stand at the net and twist the necks of entangled animals or kill them by pressing with the finger upon the soft spot on the head. Rabbits were carried by thrusting the head under the hunter's belt and allowing the body to dangle.

Joshua stated that one rabbit went to each participant, the remainder to the headmen. Pindy and Daisy maintained that the rabbits were divided evenly except in cases of unusual success, in which event the headmen received more than the others. Four or five camps might join in such a hunt. At least ten men participated and it is said that in the fall twenty or thirty might go to the brush flats near Lake City to hunt rabbits. On such excursions the women stayed home.

Rabbits were also tracked by dogs in the snow and shot with the bow. None of my informants had ever heard of the rabbit stick.[40] Both jacks and cottontails (dabu'ᵉ) were snared by catching their heads in a noose set on the trail. Cottontails were taken along the creeks, under the willows. Their flesh was preferable to that of the jacks; "they have good white meat."

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[36] Fig. 25.

[37] Strangely enough, Pindy denied that squirrels were trapped.

[38] Other members of the squirrel family were doubtless eaten, as, for example, sawa'', described as a little larger than a chipmunk and having yellow and black stripes.

[39] Pindy alone asserted that the nets were placed in a semicircle.

[40] I am positive of this point. Cf. de Angulo and Freeland, 220.

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Rats.—There are two kinds of edible rats, "tika"wa, which lives under the junipers, and ka"wa, which is smaller and lives under small rocks, but not in the hills." Neither was the object of much hunting, but if a person happened upon one he shot it. The smaller rat was sometimes taken by inserting a straight stick in the hole. The rat bit at this and was then pierced with a sharp thrust. If it died under the rocks, it was pulled forth by twisting the stick in the skin.

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Birds.—On the whole, land birds figured slightly in Paiute diet. The sage hen (hu'dsi')[41] seems to have been the only one of any importance and was the only bird snared. A green willow or service shoot, about ten feet in length, was set in the ground and bent over and a string with a noose on the far end was attached to the top of the shoot. The noose encircled a slight depression in the ground and was there secured by a little rock or a small pin. When the sage hen walked into the noose, the cord slipped from the pin, releasing the willow and holding the bird fast by the leg. A man might set five or six snares of this sort every morning.

Sage hens were also caught by the hunter from a small pit screened by a brush or willows. On such occasions a man did not shoot; he merely reached out and captured the birds. In spring the sage hens have a "dance," at which time they are thick and easy to catch. In the old days a hunter sometimes wore an antelope disguise[42] and approached the dancing birds undetected. He carried a short stick with which he knocked them on the head.

In spring when the birds came to water, a net, ten or fifteen feet across, was spread horizontally about a foot and a half above the ground. One side was pegged down and the other was supported at the corners by posts. A central post, slit at the top to receive the cord, prevented sagging. The hunter concealed himself in a pit near-by and when a large number of sage hens were beneath the net, he pulled a string, releasing the supporting posts. The net fell, securing the birds, their heads protruding upward through the meshes.

Grouse (kahü'[2]) were hunted in the spring with bow and arrow. The prairie chicken (pako'g[2]) was also shot with the bow. Other birds such as blackbird (pako'dop[2]) and robin (su'gu) were undoubtedly eaten in the old days but seem to have been of slight importance. Valley quail are plentiful now but have been recently introduced. Informants could not remember mountain quail from the old days.

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[41] The generic term for bird is hu'dsi'-pa'[2].

[42] SW. Probably this holds only for Oregon where the antelope disguise was more frequently used.

222 (hu· 'adada·^{a})[44] were never eaten but an unidentified insect similar to the grasshopper was considered edible. Ants (a· 'ni) were gathered early in the morning when they were bunched on the top of the hill. Ant eggs (a· 'ninoho) were gathered. "Worms" or larvae of some sort, probably caterpillars[45] (called biū· 'gū), were gathered early in the morning. They did not come every year and nowadays are never found in this vicinity. My interpreter saw some this summer near Gerlach, Nevada.

262 224 Animals not eaten. -- Coyote (iza··^{a}) was hunted with the bow but was not taken in a deadfall. Gidū·tikad^{ū} claim not to have eaten the flesh because it tasted badly, but they made use of the pelt. Wolf (i· ··shaʃ) is said by Minnie to have an unpleasant odor. With exceptions of Piudy, all informants agreed that it was never eaten. He claimed that is was hunted with the bow and that the flesh was roasted on the coals.

Informants also denied eating fox (wañi·^{i}), dog (soko·puku),[46] lizard (kwida·mugus; kwida·, excrement), frog (waha·tsa), snake (dogo·kw^{a}), and skunk (poñi·tc^{ū}). They stated that the Achomawi ate coyotes and that tribes to the east ate snakes and dogs. Several declared skunks inedible, but as I obtained an account of its preparation, I presume it was eaten by some; the Burns Paiute are said to have eaten it. Mice (puña·ż) were declared too small to eat. Magpies (kwida·kagai^{i}; kwida·, excrement; kagai^{i} from kai, kai, kai, the bird's call) and eagles (kwiña·· ^{a}) were not eaten.

252 Preparation of animal foods.-- Meat was prepared by stone boiling or by roasting in the pit oven(dū·avida) or on the coals. It was sometimes pounded or given other sorts of special treatment to be noted below.

Deer flesh was usually boiled in a willow basket. The meat was added when the water was simmering and it was "boiled rare, not like white people boil meat." The Gidū·tikad^{ū} did not cook food in a paunch or hide sack, but when a person was traveling in winter and no water was available, he dug a hole and lined it with a deer hide. He then heaped snow on the skin and added hot stones. Such melted snow was called pa'sa·.

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44 This term is said to be onomatopoeic.

45 They are described as black with yellow stripes and as about four inches in length. 46 Two informants had heard of eating dogs in time of great scarcity, but the others vehemently denied it. One gets the impression that dogs were much too scarce to have been of any dietary significance.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

224 278 411

Arrow poison.—Pindy knew only one kind of arrow poison. It was called watsi' and was used for war and for big game, including deer. It took immediate effect, producing swelling, but not affecting the edibility of the meat.

Our poison is made from the deer's shwatsi', black looking stuff on the intestines which looks like the liver[169] but is smaller.[170] Cook it in the ashes and let it dry. It smells bad. Stick the arrowpoint in and let it dry, or rub on the poison with the finger. There is no cure, so you have to be careful, especially if your finger is cut.

Joshua claimed that poisoned arrows were kept apart from others; Pindy, that segregation was unnecessary as the dry poison did not rub off.

Joshua enumerated three kinds of poison (ta'iyŭp[s]) for arrows. A person might prepare poison from the spleen (?); he might let a rattlesnake bite the point; or he might insert the arrow in a root of wild parsnip so that it became coated with the juice. Joshua added that poison was not used much for game but principally when one "wanted to kill a man."

411 237

Quiver.—Arrows were carried in a quiver (hu'gu"na) of otter, raccoon, lynx, coyote, or deer skin. It was not made on a framework, but the hide was stretched while wet and allowed to harden in the desired shape. It is significant that a man always made his quiver in spite of the needlework involved. Pindy gave the following directions:

Fold the hide lengthwise with the head part down, because that is the small end. Sew up the side and across the bottom (nose). Leave the tail on and let it roll around in the back. Tie one end of the pack string to the fore legs and the other to the hind legs.

This string goes over the right shoulder. Wear the quiver on your back when traveling. Pull it to the left side of your chest to shoot, or, if lefthanded, the other way around.

The quiver can be of untanned deer hide, with the hair on. Cut the hide so the quiver will flare from the bottom; it is straight across the top and slanting on the bottom. You can put fringe on the bottom and the side.

A person carried only one quiver. This contained his bow and upward of ten arrows, although Tom Anderson estimated its capacity at forty. When not in use, the quiver hung inside the house.

Spear.—The spear was apparently unknown in the old days, although Joshua thought otherwise. The spear-thrower was certainly unknown; "They never had anything like that even far back. The old people never even talked about it."

[169] The interpreter (NH) was positive of this.
[170] Probably the spleen.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

231 The dog was used in tracking game, principally groundhog. A
● 224 good dog would kill a wounded deer. Dogs were given no special training for the chase; "they hunted when they were hungry."
[552] As far as I could learn, dogs lacked individual names.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Burdens were carried on the back. A load was slung from the chest by a tumpline but if very heavy, it was suspended from the head with a pad of sagebrush bark to prevent chafing.

Old brush was gathered for firewood. It was piled, tied together, and carried to camp. In traveling, blankets were thrown over the shoulders, sacks of food carried on the back, and small objects, such as the metate, placed in a burden basket and similarly borne. A child too small to walk sat on top of the load, his legs dangling about his mother's neck. Sometimes a woman carried two small children this way; sometimes a man also carried a small child.

482 With the introduction of horses, travel was greatly facilitated.
492 The horse pack called for twisted or braided (three or four-strand) deer hide or for three-strand braid of sagebrush or wiha'b' twine. The Paiute saddle (sado', from saddle) was described as an affair of soft deer or antelope hide stuffed with deer hair. It had no wooden or horn frame. A long loop of 3½-inch deer hide contained the "round" juniper stirrup.

415 *Containers.*—The utility container was the conical twined burden basket. Foods, such as roots, were stored in an open twine sack of sagebrush bark (watsi'-mago"o; sagebrush bark container) described as four feet in length and two in width. A close-twined conical basket or a conical hide container (kwa'nü) was used for seeds. The hide bag was made on a frame of two, possibly more, willows crossed and bent upward. One or two deer or antelope skins were sewed together as covering and a green willow hoop fastened about the mouth.

Water was carried in the pitched willow jar and, according to Minnie, sometimes in a skin bag. Minor receptacles such as the knife sheath, quiver, and the bag for the fire drill, are mentioned under other headings. The same holds for the cradle.

372 *Miscellaneous.*—On short trips in winter, fire was carried in a slow match (koso'-yakwi'n^a; koso', fire; yakwi'n^a, hold in the hand ?)) of sagebrush bark in three-strand braid. It was "about the size of a woman's forearm and was braided hard." A slightly different type

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ECONOMIC LIFE.

With an exception to be noted presently the Plateau Shoshoneans did not cultivate the soil. Nevertheless they were largely dependent on vegetable food, which, as Chamberlin has pointed out for the Gosiute south and west of Great Salt Lake, even took precedence of meat diet.[1] His remarks have indeed a much wider application, for with the exception of the Shoshoni and the Ute these tribes did relatively little hunting of large animals, and even the Lemhi were largely vegetarians and did not disdain such small game as grasshoppers and ants. Probably all the tribes depended in some measure on small animals, thus the Moapa mention the use of rats, lizards, and turtles. The wretched existence of one of the poorer groups, presumably encountered somewhere in Utah, is thus graphically pictured by Father De Smet:—

> The principal portion of the Soshoco territory is covered with wormwood, and other species of artemisia, in which the grasshoppers swarm by myriads; these parts are consequently most frequented by this tribe. When they are sufficiently numerous, they hunt together. They begin by digging a hole, ten or twelve feet in diameter by four or five deep; then, armed with long branches of artemisia, they surround a field of four or five acres, more or less, according to the number of persons who are engaged in it. They stand about twenty feet apart, and their whole work is to beat the ground, so as to frighten up the grasshoppers and make them bound forward. They chase them toward the center by degrees—that is, into the hole prepared for their reception. Their number is so considerable that frequently three or four acres furnish grasshoppers sufficient to fill the reservoir or hole.
>
> The Soshocos stay in that place as long as this sort of provision lasts. They, as well as other mortals, have their tastes. Some eat the grasshoppers in soup, or boiled; others crush them and make a kind of paste from them, which they dry in the sun or before the fire; others eat them *en appalas*—that is, they take pointed rods and string the largest ones on them; afterward these rods are fixed in the ground before the fire, and, as they become roasted, the poor Soshocos regale themselves until the whole are devoured.
>
> As they rove from place to place, they sometimes meet with a few rabbits, and take some grouse, but seldom kill deer or other large animals.[2]

Hunting and Fishing.

The Paiute hunted mountain sheep and deer, the latter being apparently more common in the Kaibab region. Dogs were used to hunt the larger game. Wögö'hüwa, a Tö'+intesà+u seen at Moapa, recollected tracking a mountain sheep for three or four days without anything to eat. He would use its cleaned-out paunch as a water bag. After killing it he

[1] Chamberlin, 333.
[2] De Smet, vol. 3, 1033.

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would drive the rabbits while four or five tended the net. They would catch thirty or forty a day. 000

Rabbits were cooked in hot ashes. Dellenbaugh writes:—

> Dexterously stripping off the skins they slit open the abdomen, removed the entrails, and, after squeezing out the contents by drawing between thumb and fingers, they replaced the interminable string in the cavity, closing the aperture with the ears, and stowed the carcass in the hot ashes for a few minutes.[1]

The Paviotso had a communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven (see section on "Ceremonies and Dances"), and also communal duck, mud-hen, and rabbit hunts. Individual hunters stalked deer and antelope; they approached the game wearing a deer or antelope head with the antlers and mimicking the actions of their victims. This practice is called *tū'hū-itaqwd*. In this way it was possible to sneak up close to the herd, and shoot an animal, which was then pursued till it fell down. A strong man might also run down an antelope by tracking it for one or two days before shooting at all. The antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley. 224 •

The duck and mud-hen hunting was executed under the leadership of two head men. One of them would tell the people: "On such and such a day each of you shall make a tule boat for himself. The next day you shall make arrows. Two days after finishing the arrows you shall start." They would go on the water about daylight, led by one of the head men. There might be as many as thirty or more men in the party. They were led through the tule rushes out on the lake, where ducks and mud-hens were sighted. The hens would try to hide. Then they would divide into two parties, each led by one head man, and surround the flocks. When they had shot enough, they went home. That evening the head men told them to come again in two days for another hunt. They would scare the ducks from a small into a big lake. Then the head man said, "In three days from now we will go close and camp there. We'll start early." Then they would go through the tule on their rafts, sometimes driving the ducks out on dry land. Ducks were also caught in nets (*pūhū'kwana*) stretched between long sticks stuck into the water. From a Fallon informant I obtained two canvas-back decoys (Fig. 1), the birdskins of which were fitted over a tule body. 223 624 [501]

The rabbit-hunt is likewise under the direction of a special manager; at Fallon the office is filled by Billy Springer. Usually the Paviotso of Wadsworth, Walker River, and other localities are invited to participate. The visitors stay with the Fallon people as long as the hunt lasts—say 224 624

[1] Dellenbaugh, 232.

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224 624 ten or fifteen days—then return home after drying the meat. November is the proper time. When Springer was a boy nets were still in vogue, but nowadays only guns are used. There is no general distribution of the spoils; everyone takes his own kill and saves the hides therefrom. The [462] women go along to cook, taking the children along. The men do not return to camp for a midday meal, but only at sundown since they have to go a considerable distance.

223

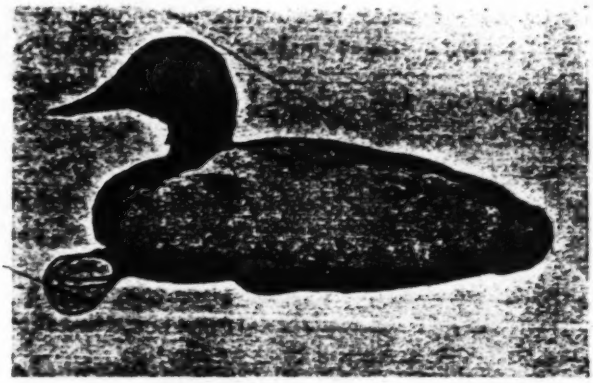

Fig. 1 (50.1–7934). Canvas-back Decoy, Birdskin over Tule Body, Paviotso.

224 624 In the old days a fire was first made every morning of the hunt and all the men would gather there to get instructions from the head man of the hunt. Practically everyone then had a net. They would stretch the nets, several next to one another. The head man bade the people start in two directions and later come together. A rectangle of nets was made six times a day, three times on the way from home and as many times on the return trip. The men took positions in one horizontal line inside the nets and nearest the fire, then proceeded toward the opposite side. Some rabbits would run counter to the line of the advancing hunters but only ran into the nets, whereupon the owner of such nets seized his catch. Other rabbits were dispatched with arrows as they ran past the line of hunters. The line of nets perpendicular to the line of hunters was longer than theirs. One informant said this communal hunt was kept up for a month.

000 The Gosiute practised a communal hunt for both antelope and rabbits, driving the game through a V-shaped enclosure and killing their victims at the apex. Deer and antelope were also driven down precipices.[1]

[1]Chamberlin, 335 f.

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(*wiowdn*ᵘ) a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

Tobacco.

It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

The Paviotso called their tobacco *púiʒa'ᵖˢ*. It is a weed growing several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà*ᵐ. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsïabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawá·γodpˢ*, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

Dogs.

Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

[1] Cf. Lowie, 213–214.
[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.
[3] See Lowie, 212 f.
[4] Chamberlin, 345.

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animal. They did not employ the travois but packed the dogs with bags on each side. Horses were not eaten except when the people were in very hard circumstances.[1]

The Paviotso hunted antelope with dogs. These would bark and hold the game at bay till the hunter was in a position to shoot them.

The Moapa similarly pursued mountain sheep.

Dress.

The rabbitskin robe probably formed a universal article of clothing among the Shoshonean Plateau peoples. A specimen bought from the Shivwits was of both cottontail and jack-rabbit skins. The Kaibab encountered by Powell in the winter time wore "to some extent deerskin but mainly old clothes obtained from the whites. They made a very warm robe out of rabbit skins, twisted into a long rope and then sewed side to side into the desired size and shape."[2] But in the warm season these people went practically naked. Powell came across a couple at the end of August of whom the man was "dressed in a hat; the woman in a string of beads only."[3] A cloth model of the old style woman's dress from Moapa is characterized by the lack of sleeves and a fringe extending around everywhere except round the armholes.

At present the only aboriginal article of clothing worn is the woman's basket hat (Fig. 4). At Moapa I observed that many of the women decorated the face with painted designs, the paint being called *ump*[4]. One woman had two short straight lines on each side of the mouth, one line being about half an inch above the other. Another woman had two straight lines, which ran from the corners of the mouth down to the chin and a third from the middle of the lower lip down to the chin.

The Ute had rabbitskin as well as elk and deerskin blankets. Those of rabbitskin were made by the women and served as blankets and for winter wear. In the historic period the Plains Indian contact exerted a great influence on the costume as well as on other features of Ute culture. Reed describes a man's garment as comprising elkhide moccasins, deerskin leggings, a cloth gee-string, a shirt, and a Navajo blanket.[4]

In the old days Ute women wore their hair parted in the middle but without braiding; the men had braids. One Navaho Springs Indian was seen with two braids hanging behind the ears. Neither sex wore any

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 185.
[2] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[3] Powell, 104; *cf. ibid.*, 115, 126. The same dearth of clothing in the summer is reported for the Gosiute, Wilson, 2.
[4] Reed, 40.

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else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respectively. Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is supposed to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914), succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big undertaking he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth, or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1] Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out. Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director. If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion, descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some "smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-chief nor great chief has any salary.[2]

Kinship Usages.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.
[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.
[3] Lowie, 211.

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in association with the ceremonial antelope hunt. It is interesting to note that the association of this stick with game-charming occurs among the Cheyenne and Arikara,[1] though the connecting links are not clear and the resemblance may turn out to lack significance. I will begin by quoting Sarah Hopkins.

My people capture antelopes by charming them, but only some of the people are charmers. My father was one of them, and once I went with him on an antelope hunt.

The antelopes move in herds in the winter, and as late in the spring as April. At this time there was said to be a large herd in a certain place, and my father told all his people to come together in ten days to go with him in his hunt. He told them to bring their wives with them, but no small children. When they came, at the end of ten days, he chose two men, who he said were to be his messengers to the antelopes. They were to have two large torches made of sagebrush bark, and after he had found a place for his camp, he marked out a circle around which the wigwams were to be placed, putting his own in the middle of the western side, and leaving an opening directly opposite in the middle of the eastern side, which was towards the antelopes.

The people who were with him in the camp then made another circle to the east of the one where their wigwams were, and made six mounds of sagebrush and stones on the sides of it, with a space of a hundred yards or more from one mound to the next one, but with no fence between the mounds. These mounds were made high, so that they could be seen from far off.

The women and boys and old men who were in the camp, and who were working on the mounds, were told to be very careful not to drop anything and not to stumble over a sagebrush root, or a stone, or anything, and not to have any accident, but to do everything perfectly and to keep thinking about the antelopes all the time, and not to let their thoughts go away to anything else. It took five days to charm the antelopes, and if anybody had an accident he must tell of it.

Every morning early, when the bright morning star could be seen, the people sat around the opening to the circle, with my father sitting in the middle of the opening, and my father lighted his pipe and passed it to his right, and the pipe went round the circle five times. And at night they did the same thing.

After they had smoked the pipe, my father took a kind of drum, which is used in this charming, and made music with it. This is the only kind of musical instrument which my people have, and it is only used for this antelope-charming. It is made of a hide of some large animal, stuffed with grass, so as to make it sound hollow, and then wound around tightly from one end to the other with a cord as large as my finger. One end of this instrument is large, and it tapers down to the other end, which is small, so that it makes a different sound on the different parts. My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound, that could be heard afar off, and he sang, and all his people sang with him.

After that the two men who were messengers went out to see the antelopes. They carried their torches in their right hands, and one of them carried a pipe in his left hand. They started from my father's wigwam and went straight across the camp to the opening; then they crossed, and one went around the second circle to the

[1] Vol. XI, this series, 675, 896.

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right and the other went to the left, till they met on the other side of the circle. Then they crossed again, and one went round the herd of antelopes one way and the other went round the other way, but they did not let the antelopes see them. When they met on the other side of the herd of antelopes, they stopped and smoked the pipe, and then they crossed, and each man came back on the track of the other to the camp, and told my father what they saw and what the antelopes were doing.

This was done every day for five days, and after the first day all the men and women and boys followed the messengers, and went around the circle they were to enter. On the fifth day the antelopes were charmed, and the whole herd followed the tracks of my people and entered the circle where the mounds were, coming in at the entrance, bowing and tossing their heads, and looking sleepy and under a powerful spell. They ran round and round inside the circle just as if there was a fence all around it and they could not get out, and they stayed there until my people had killed every one. But if anybody had dropped anything, or had stumbled and had not told about it, then when the antelopes came to the place where he had done that, they threw off the spell and rushed wildy out of the circle at that place.

My brother can charm horses in the same way.[1]

A Pyramid Lake informant whose father had likewise been an antelope charmer differed from Sarah in setting the length of the entire hunt at three days, with the middle day specially devoted to the killing of the game. Early in the spring, when the ground was muddy and some one had seen a big herd, the Indians would gather together for the communal chase. One man acted as master of ceremonies and was called an Antelope man; apparently two or three others sharing this title acted as his assistants. These put on antelope heads and daubed themselves with war paint. They notched a stick, which was placed on a blanket and rasped as an accompaniment to the singing. A loud noise was produced. There was a big fire in the middle, round which the men danced. The women did not participate but were allowed to be present as spectators. The musicians were seated between the fire and the Antelope men, who were near the circumference of the circle.

Two scouts were sent out to watch all the movements of the antelope and returned at night to report their location. They would announce, "They are all there yet, they are not yet moving." The Antelope man would say, "We are sure the antelope are coming to our corral." They always told the truth and always killed plenty of antelope. In the center of a circular enclosure a big pile of sagebrush was heaped up, and from the sides of the gate two big diverging fences from three to four feet high were made of sagebrush, planted roots up, with the women camping along both wings. Some alert men on foot drove the game toward the structure and the sagebrush wings were set on fire while the central pile was left

[1] Hopkins, 55–57.

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undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences. This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone. 224

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details. According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:— 224 796 [539]

wázunaq	ína	hāū́ʙa	wō̄'nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?

hāū́ʙa.	nō̄'mōnáqa	ína	hāū́ʙa.
?	Somebody's ear	?	?

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!" Thus good meat was obtained. [756] [787] [841] [857]

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*qamú nō'qá*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.

arrow on the right hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i.e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club : a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

Agriculture.

They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds. They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

Foods.

Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region [1]. But

1. Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED

+ Element present.
- Element absent.
· Either question was not asked or informant did not understand.
* Reference to a note in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."

N W A 224

N [231]

N W A [411]

N A [736]

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE													
	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
SUBSISTENCE														
Hunting														
Deer Hunting														
1. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2a. Communal	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3. Past ambushed hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*5. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Into enclosure with pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*8. Into trap, net, or snare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*9. With fire	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
*10. With dogs	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
11. In relays	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Shamanism	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Ambush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
14. In pit beside trail	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
15. In pit beside spring	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
16. In pit around which brush fence	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
17. Single hunter stalks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Runs down	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
18a. Runs down game when it is wounded	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*19. Disguise	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
20. Deer head	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
21. Entire deerskin	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
22. Brush carried	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23. Poison arrow	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
24. Fire to signal hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
*25. Formal chief	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
26. Informal chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
*27. Magic	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Antelope Hunting														
*27a. Communal hunt	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. Corral	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28a. Sagebrush-bark rope	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
29. Solid brush fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*29a. Brush fence around hill	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
*30. Brush at intervals	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
31. Wings	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
*32. Shamanism	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Shaman is chief of hunt	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Shaman has an assistant	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
35. Shaman has special enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
36. Fire	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
*37. Notched stick	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
*38. Grass-stuffed hide	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
39. Hoof rattle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

[p. 366]

	Yo	Kl	K2	Km	Yo	Ye	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Kl	At
40. Wand	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
45. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Antelope mask	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
48. Round dance	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
49. Stumbling taboo	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
50. Loss of objects taboo	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
53. Messengers to antelope	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
57. Fires to drive	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
58. Shaman in corral	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
59. Shaman "closes gate"	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
60. Special archer	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
62. Run down on foot	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
64. Drive	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
65. Past ambushed hunters	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
66. With dogs	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
67. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
70. Ambush beside spring	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
71. Hunters disguised	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
73. Disguise	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
74. Antelopeskin	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
75. Brush	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
Mt.-Sheep Hunting														
76. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
77. Drive	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
78. Past hidden hunters	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
79. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
80. With dogs	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
81. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
82. Through V-fence	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
85. Attracting by pounding	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
86. Disguise	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
88. Entire skin used	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
89. Fire to signal hunters	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
91. Magic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communal Rabbit Hunting														
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
96. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Men only hunt	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
97. All people hunt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-

[p.367]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NSB

N
W
A
224
N
[535]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
97a. Fire to summon people to starting place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Special leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98a. Dance before each drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
99. Duration of drive (days): 5	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
99a. 3	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
99b. Not fixed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Snares, Nets, Etc.														
100. Spring-pole trap	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
101. For birds	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
102. For sage hens	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
104. Trap behind fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
107. For rodents	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
109. For small mammals	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
110. For large mammals	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
112. For rabbits	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
112a. Noose set on rabbit trail in snow	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
113. Noose in fence gap	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
116. For birds	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
117. For sage hens	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
118. Long rabbit net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Bird net	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
121. Circular, dome shape	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
122. Tunnel shape	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
123. Rabbit net used	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
124. Willow frame	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
125. Sagebrush support	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
126. Edge staked down	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
127. Placed near water	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Placed over creek	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
129. Sagebrush wings	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
132. For sage hens	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
133. For doves	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
134. For ducks	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
136. Birds driven to net	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
137. With antelope disguise	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
140. Net snare for rabbits	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
141. Basketry traps	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
142. Deadfalls	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
143. Figure-4 trigger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
144. 2-stick trigger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
145. Bait used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
146. For large mammals	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
147. For small game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
148. For birds generally	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
149. For grouse	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
150. Pitfalls	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
151. Cover of cross bars	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
152. Bait on cover	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
153. For carnivores	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
154. For rabbits and rodents	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
Booths and Blinds														
155. Brush enclosure	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
156. Domed brush house	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
158. Conical house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
159. Pit	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
160. With brush fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
162. Concealment in near water	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
[223]

N
[223]

N
W
A
223

[p. 368]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AI
163. Shooting birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
165. Bird caught from blind with bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
166. Off perch	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
167. Inclined pole as perch	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
173. Game killed from blind: sheep	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Antelope	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Tule blind	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
*Decoys and Disguises														
178. Live birds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*180. Stuffed birds	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
180a. Stuffed heads on sticks	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
181. Moved with string	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
181a. Body of tule	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
182. Birdskin on head	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
183. Animal disguise	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
184. Head	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
185. Whole skin	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
186. Sticks as front legs	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
187. Paint arms	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
188. Deer	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
189. Antelope	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
190. Mountain sheep	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
191. Grass or brush disguise	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Waterfowl Hunting														
Communal drive:														
192. Balsas	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. Chief or director of hunt	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
194. Killing with club	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
194a. Killing with hands: break legs or neck	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
*194b. Rabbit not used	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
195. Mud hens taken	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
196. Young ducks taken	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
196a. Young geese taken	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
197. Hunter uses animal disguise	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
198. For ducks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
200. For sage hens	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
Miscellaneous														
*201. Rodents taken from burrow by twisting stick into skin	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202. Cottontail taken	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. Rat taken	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
204. Chipmunk taken	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
205. Reptile hook	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
206. Game hung on belt by head	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Rats poked out	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
208. Rats burned out	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
*209. Smoking out of animal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
210. Jack rabbit	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
211. Cottontail	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
212. Other rodents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
214. Fan to blow smoke in den	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
215. Sage-hen wing	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
216. Crow wing	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
217. Hawk wing	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+

N W A 223 ●
N W A [224] ●
N W A [224]
N W A 224

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
NWA 224	218. Brush	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	219. Feather	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
	220. Basket	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	221. Rodents flooded out	-	+	+	+	•+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
	222. Flares for fowl	-	-	-	+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
	Eagle (and Other) Catching														
NWA 223	223. Aeries owned, individually	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
	224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	•+	-	+	-	+	-
	226. Hunter climbs to the nest	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	227. On rope	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
	228. On net	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
	229. Carries cage	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	-
	230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWA [231]	236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	237. Rearing of eagle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	238. Nest in tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
	239. Bird tied up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	240. Caged	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	241. Eagle-catching power from dream	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
	242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	244. Wing feathers	•-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
	244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	245. For trade only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
NWA 231	248. Rearing other birds	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-
	248. Chiefly dove	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	249. Young taken from nest	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	250. Bird kept in cage	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Fishing														
NWA 226	•252a. Trout caught in own territory	-	•+	+	+	•-	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
	252b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	•252c. Kuyai caught in own territory	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-
	•252e. Suckers caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	•252g. Minnows caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
	252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	•252i. Salmon caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	252j. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	•255. Fish nets	+	+	+	•+	+	•-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
	256. Special form	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
	257. Rabbit net used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	258. Wading in stream	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	•258a. Ice pick	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	259. Net used through ice	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•-	+	-	+	-	+
N [476]	259a. Communal fishing	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	260. Weir	+	•+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
NWA 226 227	261. Rock dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	•+	+
	262. Platform built over river	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	•-	-	-
	•263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	264. Conical carrying type	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-
	265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	Kl	KE	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Insect Food														
337. Caterpillars (pisge) eaten	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
339. Ants eaten	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
340. As food	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
341. As tonic	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nota) eaten	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (kia) eaten	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
348. Cricket (niju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
348a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (metata's) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
353. Caught by hand in early morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
354. Gathered in baskets	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
356. Roasted in pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
357. Ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
358. Stored, buckskin bags	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
362. Deer heart taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
363. To young	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
369a. If trapped	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
376. To father	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
377. To mother	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
379. To all village	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
379a. To anyone	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
Miscellaneous Concepts														
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
389. 5 nights' continence	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
389a. 1 night's continence	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
397. Kept from dogs	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

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SUBSISTENCE

Deer Hunting

N 224 2a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 252).

5. Paviotso: "Both deer and mt. sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral" (Curtis, 15: 71). To: Affirmed by BS, but I suspect he was confusing deer hunting with methods used for antelope.

6. Ki: +; pit constructed along trail (Kelly, 81).

8. Owens Valley: "Nets and pitfalls were denied, but some kind of trap was affirmed for deer and mt. sheep" (Steward, 252). Wa: Running W [224] noose for deer present (Smith, notes).

9. Owens Valley: Torches used in communal hunt to ignite brush, thus obtaining a large circle of fire with which to drive (Steward, 253). To: - (LP).

N [231] 10. Nearly all informants at first said Paiute had no "dogs," but instead had "Indian dogs with ears straight up." Even these were small and scarce, and, although their use in hunting was affirmed by some, they were certainly not of much importance. Steward, 252, said Owens Valley Paiute used dogs for deer hunting. Ki: - (KH).

12. To: + (BS).

13. To: - (LP). Pa: Hunter must rub self with sagebrush first. Ki: Special fence was built to force deer through gate near which hunter hid (Kelly, 82).

16. Tg: Stone fence was built around pit.

19. Paviotso: Deer head with antlers used as disguise to approach game (Lowie, 197). Owens Valley: Skin and antlers used (Steward, 252). Ts: Deer disguise used only during rutting season. Hunter put on skin and head of buck and pawed ground to attract a buck. As deer charged to attack intruder he was shot with arrow. "It was dangerous." Kl: No deer disguise was used because of fear of buck. A hunter once tried it and was killed. Ki: "Antelope head with ears and horns attached" was occasionally used to hunt deer (Kelly, 81). My informant denied such use.

N [76] 25. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253). AE: There was a formal chief for communal deer hunt who led ceremony of presenting offering of smoke and food to all things at start of hunt. The hunters were together for the ceremony and had fasted all day until after it was completed.

26. Ki: + (Kelly, 81).

N [301] 27. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Ts: Hunter painted himself with a white paint (poeŋ osai ivi) obtained near Dayton, Nevada, which made him invisible to deer. Pa: There is a spring near W shore of Walker Lake, 3 mi. S of N [787] Schurz, where a hunter could sleep if he wanted

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N 224 [787] luck for deer. He would dream of place and circumstances of hunt. Usually he learned not to kill the first deer, but to wait until the second, a big buck, came along. The place was called pai dŏpi ("clay rock"). Wa: Hunters painted themW [30] selves at times to help get deer.

Antelope Hunting

N [136] Paviotso: The statement by Lowie, 197, that "the antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley" is of course a slip of reversal. The herds still extant occupy the valleys. Lowie, 303, also quotes the rather full and apparently authentic account from Hopkins, 1883, 55-57.

27a. K: Lowie, 304, tells of the Kuyui antelope hunt. Only where his elements differ from those here recorded is a note indicated. Tŏ: MW did not know of communal antelope hunt, but GW said he had heard of just one such hunt in Smith Valley, home of Tŏvusi. Special antelope hunting was denied for their Owens Valley neighbors by Steward, 253, who treats antelope and mt. sheep together. Antelope, male, watsi', female, or in general, tŏna'.

28. Ts: Corral called kuapŏ.

N [283] 28a. To: - (LP). Ts: A great rope, watsi'dŏgŏpŏ, about the size of a man's wrist, was made of twisted sagebrush bark. The rope was sometimes a mile long so that it could be placed on top of sagebrush and reach around a hill. Balls N [283 of sagebrush hung down between bushes. A: Rope 224] of tules used at times instead of sagebrush-bark rope.

29a. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57): Circles of sagebrush built around mounds of brush. K: A large mound of sagebrush was in the center of the brush circle (Lowie, 304). Ki: Mound of sagebrush in center of circle (Kelly, 84).

30. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

31. K: + (Lowie, 304), Ts: Converging lines of humans served as wings to guide antelope into corral. Wd: - (BJ).

32. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: -

N [746] (LP). Tŏ: The regular "captain" decided time of antelope hunt and the night before led ceremony, which included dancing, smoking, and the like.

34. K: + (Lowie, 304).

35. Wd: - (SC).

36. K: + (Lowie, 304).

N [534] 37. K: Hopkins and Lowie mention notched stick which used in Pyramid Lake antelope dance (Lowie, 304). Tŏ: Wild-rose stick with thorns left on was used.

38. N. Paiute: Stuffed hide made in conical shape and wrapped with rope, then rubbed with a stick (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 84).

41. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [276] 42. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Smoking morning and evening; pipe passed to right around circle 5 times.

[P.422 (c)]

N 224 43. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ts: Chief led singing.

44. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [535 796] W [535] 46. Ts: As shaman (pohar'ŏm) dances he falls down in a trance. Each person throws a piece of sagebrush on him, and because of the great number he is completely covered. Wa: When hunt was not successful the first day, there was a dance.

49. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

49a. N. Paiute: Children did not join hunt (Hopkins, 55).

50. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 85).

52a. K: Hunt lasted 3 days (Lowie, 304). N. Paiute: 5 nights required to charm antelope (Hopkins, 56).

53. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

54. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). Ki: + (Kelly, 83).

55. Paviotso: "A communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven" (Lowie, 197). Sa: Sawa informants were not certain of antelope hunting methods, but their idea was that the antelope were charmed to allow a corral to be built around them.

56. Wd: - (SC). Ki: Charmed and driven in (Kelly, 86-87). N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). At: Charm of shaman took effect when antelope arrived in the corral, but they had to be driven in.

57. K: + (Lowie, 304): wings of piles of sagebrush were set on fire.

N [756] 60. At: The leader of the antelope would be killed by the shaman pointing his pipe, after which remaining antelopes became helpless. Last such antelope hunt took place 40 years ago. Such powerful shamans no longer exist.

60a. N. Paiute: The antelope "ran round and round inside the circle just as if there were a fence all around it" (Hopkins, 57). Ts: After runner had tired the antelope, he killed smallest one to present to shaman as his special prize. This would be signal for hunters, who were stationed around corral, to start general slaughter. K: + (Lowie, 305).

62. Paviotso: "A strong man might run down an antelope" (Lowie, 197).

73. Paviotso: "They approached the game wearing deer or antelope head with antlers" (Lowie, 197).

74. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Mt. Sheep Hunting

N [825] Paiute names for mt. sheep: male, koip^{e}, female, mutsa'. Koip^{e} also means mt. sheep in general.

78. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253).

81. Owens Valley: Enclosures sometimes built in narrow canyons to catch sheep (Steward, 253). Pa: Stone enclosure built on top of Mount Grant, W of Walker Lake. Steward, 253, cites Muir's description of a stone corral and converging lines of rock he saw at the same place.

[p.423(N)]

N 224 85. K2: Hunter would pound rock with moccasins. At: Mt. sheep could only be attracted by pounding in mating season.

86. Steward, 253, mentions a picture in Muir which shows a sheep hunter with headgear suggesting an antelope. Ki: Kelly, 81, said her informants had never seen mt. sheep, but had heard antelope disguise was used to hunt them at times.

N [756 789] 91. To: Affirmed by BS, who said magic was used in all hunting. BS enjoyed telling of great powers of old shamans, and appeared to exaggerate the importance of magic.

Communal Rabbit Hunting

N [825] Jack rabbit called kamŏ.

92. To: Lowie, 197, describes rabbit hunting nr. Fallon.

93. At, To: Fire used to drive rabbits.

94. Ki: No "rabbit stick" (Kelly, 88).

96. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254).

97. Ki: + (Kelly, 88): women and girls helped in drive.

98a. At: In old days there was only 1 dance per year.

Snares, Nets, Etc.

100. Owens Valley: Although a snare was found in Hooker Cave, Steward, 255, denied its use in Owens Valley. KU: In Lovelock Cave, Loud reported what is probably a spring-pole trap (Loud, 115).

101. Ki: Kelly, 89, said snare used only for sage hens.

112. Owens Valley: Steward, 254, said nooses in trails for catching rabbits and wildcats.

N 223 117. At: Nooses in fence gaps used for sage hens in mating season (about March in Atsa territory). The sage hens are said to have a dance at this time and it is on "dance ground" that fences were built.

120. To: A rabbit net was supported on sticks about 8 feet above water or just at tops of tules, usually across an opening in the tules. Just before dawn the ducks were frightened so as to be captured as they flew up. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Ki: I was told the birds were scared when they got under net, becoming entangled as they flew up. Kelly, 89, was told a supporting stick was pulled out so that the birds caught their heads in mesh as the net fell.

W [223]

123. To: - (BS).

126. Ki: One edge staked down (Kelly, 89).

127. To: Net supported over spring on sticks so that it would fall when the birds flew against it. Hunter hid in a pit near by to frighten the birds at the right time. At: PS pointed out that sage hens, rabbits, and antelope only go to water at certain times of year—when too little dew, food too dry, days too hot, etc.—so that opportunities for netting over water were limited.

N [825]

137. Ki: Antelope disguise worn in order to approach "dancing" sage hens at mating season

[p. 423 (BD)]

223 (Kelly, 89). Tg: In early times one disguised man was killed because another hunter mistook him for real antelope. Since then antelope disguise considered dangerous and so little used.

143. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254, fig. 2, which represents general Paiute "figure 4" type trigger for deadfall trap).

224 150. To: - (LP). At: The only pitfall used was a pit 8 or 10 inches deep dug just at the entrance to ground-hog hole. In the spring when the young rodents first came from their burrow they fell in pit. Being young and weak they could not get out.

Booths and Blinds

223 155. Ki: + (Kelly, 90).

156. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): "blinds resembling wickiups or summer houses."

159. To: - (LP).

160. Ki: + (Kelly 89): near "dance" ground.

165. Ki: Sage hens struck with stick as they "danced"; young geese and mud hens caught by hand (Kelly, 89-90). To: Sometimes disguised head and walked with body submerged until a duck's legs could be seized from under the water.

Decoys and Disguises

Decoy called tüa.

178-191. Wd: Checked with SC and BJ.

180. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255), although Steward cites Simpson's description of their use on Carson (p. 85) and Walker (p. 480) lakes. To: Lowie, 198, fig. 1, shows duck decoy from Fallon. Similar specimen obtained by me is now in U. C. Anthr. Museum. Ki: + from 1 informant, - from others (Kelly, 90). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 49, and pls. 33, 34). Tg: Informant had heard about stuffed-duck decoys and thought that old-time Tagö had used them, but he was not sure and had never seen one although he was about 80 years of age. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

181. Ki: Strings were attached to decoy (Kelly, 90).

183. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

183-187, 189. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Waterfowl Hunting

192. To: Fledglings and flightless adults of certain species hunted by numerous Indians in [501] tule balsas on Carson Lake (Curtis, 15, 73). Paviotso: Lowie, 197, describes 2 types of communal waterfowl hunting; both methods were similarly described by my informants. When mud hens were too fat to fly they were driven on to the land and caught when they tried to hide. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

194b. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255). Ts: Rabbit net was stretched near shore to keep birds from running too far. When net was not used fowl were allowed to hide under brush and

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

203. Wd: - (SC).

204. Wd: - (SC).

209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso'ŏpº.

[177] 221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding out of rodents learned from white people. Wd: (SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsonomŏ) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

226 [134] 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of trout for area we are considering: mountain trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Ts: Trout were [133] caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes. These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[p. 424 (B)]

N 342 constructions changed from domed to conical, as Kelly, 104, suggests, or whether both kinds were built at the same time. I believe house forms were not stable but depended upon the available materials and whim of the builder. Inasmuch as the framework was chiefly willow, dome-shaped houses were probably more common.

W [349] 580-581. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

582. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265): Domed willow shade. At: In old days all Paiutes had was willow half dome or willow half circle with end leaning toward center. There were no flat roofs.

583. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265). Ki: + (Kelly, 105, pl. 18,c); however, my informants said only brush enclosure was known formerly.

587. "Paviotso lodges were nearly hemispherical." "A very thick thatch of dry piñon needles was applied, and this sometimes covered with earth" (Curtis, 15:70, also pl. 78).

589. K: Picture of Pyramid Lake Paviotso dwelling (Lowie, 204, fig. 6). At: In old days some people would, at times, build no permanent winter camp. PS remembers his family wandering all winter much as they usually did only in summer. He did not remember why, yet thought it was to hunt. Although clothing was scant and often wet, PS did not remember being cold. Nights were spent huddled around a fire with only the shelter afforded by a few sagebrush piled as windbreak. Ki: Dome-shaped winter houses were said to have formerly existed (Kelly, 104).

N [297]

600. Kt, To, Tü, Sa, Pa, Tg: House was built of tule "mats" which were made by binding masses of tules between 2 or 3 pairs of sticks. The Tagö made also woven mats.

606. Wd: - (SC).

607a. To: - (LP).

613. At: A ring of willows was sometimes placed around fire to keep grass used to sleep on from catching on fire.

615. At: Paiutes used only tripod-type house after white people came. Wd: Tripod-type house used to be covered with buffalo skins. After buffalo left, grass and tules were used.

622. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264). Ki: Conical houses borrowed from north (Kelly, 104, pl. 18,b). Some denied any shelter besides the shade or windbreak for aboriginal times (Kelly, 106).

628. To: - (LP).

629. Ki: + (Kelly, 104).

N [224] 631. Wd: - (BJ). Informant said buffalo had been seen near Saddle Butte, but Wada never hunted them. Ki: Tule mat sewed and twined (Kelly, 104, pl. 19,c).

633. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264).

638. Wd: - (SC).

640. To: + (BS).

643. Wa: Door was of woven willows, that is, of basketry.

653. Owens Valley: + (Steward): Mountain house used in fall and winter had 2 upright poles and ridgepole.

[p.430 (N)]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
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PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanistic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

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got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick. A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman. A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hō!" The sick man was getting worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions." I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises. To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see through anything. That makes him lucky.

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There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said, "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died.

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

Weather shamans.—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

Antelope doctors.—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through.

The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music.

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The antelope doctor got his power from the antelope. He had eagle feathers that he put under his head when he slept. His power told him everything. He got his songs from the eagle feathers. The antelope doctor didn't cure sick people. I [Joe Green] saw an antelope shaman at Stillwater. My mother told me about one who was at Pyramid lake.

Invulnerability.—The shamans with the strongest powers were thought to be invulnerable against bullets or arrows. As with weather control, this power was exercised to demonstrate the strength of the shaman. Frank Spencer, one of the messiahs of the 1870 Ghost dance, who later acquired strong powers for curing sickness, was supposed to be invulnerable when fired upon with a gun.

Spencer doctored a sick girl but she did'nt get well. Her parents called in another shaman. He said Spencer poisoned the girl [through witchcraft]. The girl's father went after Spencer. He came to the place where Spencer was camping. Spencer was asleep. The man shot him three times but the bullets did'nt hurt him. Then Spencer got up and the man shot him again but he did'nt feel it. Spencer invited the man to come into the house. They talked for a while. Spencer told the father that he had not poisoned the girl. He said that perhaps the other doctor had fooled him. Then he told the man that no one could hurt him with bullets or knives. Spencer told him to forget about the shooting. They shook hands and were friends after that.

Spencer was at Lovelock [Nevada]. He lost something. It made him sick. He took a bullet and marked it with his teeth. He gave it to a man and told the man to shoot him with it. Spencer took off his shirt and drew a circle on his chest with red paint. The man stood about fifty feet from Spencer. He shot at the circle on Spencer's chest. When he fired it sounded different. The noise was not very loud. Spencer had no wound on his chest. He stood there for a few minutes. Then he coughed and he spit the bullet out in his hand. He showed the people the teeth marks that he had made on the bullet before the man shot at him. Spencer felt better after that. Lots of people were standing around to watch him.

Clairvoyance.—In the old days some of the shamans had the power to prophesy the outcome of battles, the appearance of epidemics, or other important events. Other shamans could locate lost or stolen property.

My father [Billy Roberts, Pyramid lake] was a shaman. He could find things that had been lost or stolen. People paid him to do this. A man would come to my father and say that he had lost something. My father would tell him to come back the next day. He always had to sleep first. That night his power came to him and told him where the lost property was. If it had been stolen, his power told him who was the thief. Shamans cannot find things for people nowadays because they have'nt strong enough power anymore.

"Doctor Dick" could find things for people. One time a man buried some money. He could'nt find where he put it. He hired "Doctor Dick" to find it for him. That

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as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2] Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturity, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor, while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corroborated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise Valley Paiute.[7]

The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley are credited with similar powers.[9]

The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley Paiute.[10]

It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco, beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.
[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.
[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.
[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.
[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.
[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f.* New York, 1883.
[7] Kelly, 189.
[8] Lowie, 295.
[9] Steward, 314*f.*; Kelly 195.
[10] Hopkins, 55*f.*; Kelly, 189.
[11] Lowie, 294.
[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f.*

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According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunting in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

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Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise – Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

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The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

648 579 Snakes, I suppose," and three days later his party saw Indians in the vicinity of the lakes.[107]

Five years later, on Oct. 13, 1832, John Work, another Hudson's Bay Company trader and Ogden's successor as a leader of the Snake brigades, was at Alkali Lake (?), northeast of Abert Lake, on his second expedition to the "the Snake country." In his journal Work records that [487] at Alkali Lake there were "tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people."[108] A day later, when the fur brigade was camped somewhere between Wagontire and Alkali Lake, one of Work's men, Bte. Gardispie, who "was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning," on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill encountered seven Indians who were concealed behind a large stone in the long grass. Gardispie

> "did not perceive them until he was close too when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of their reach where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people [members of the brigade] coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms, and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to the camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with them now.[109]

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Work and his party proceeded to the west shore of Abert ("Salt") Lake and encamped at a small freshwater spring on October 16-17. This station seemed to be "a usual encampment of the Indians. At some seasons they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place."[110] Three days later, Work was at Hunter's Hot Springs, north of Goose Lake. In these springs he found "a number of human schulls and other bones....but how they came there is no knowing."[111]

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and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west, in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions, ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chewaucan in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. II, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p. 212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol. I, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew, Official Report, p. 10; NA, BIA, OS, Letters Received 1869, H-18 (Huntington's detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15, 24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt., I, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F. Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant attention...They are a roving, nomadic race...a tribe hard to tame, not accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country; cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the offing, immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah, and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

N 551 200. "Giltowa" is referred to in another letter of Rinehart's, where his name is translated as One-eyed and he is spoken of as "one of Pauline's men" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., May 3, 1866). His name does not appear as an 1865 Walpapi treaty signer, but in April, 1865 Capt. Kelly refers to "The Old One eye man that attended the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has been badly torn by a Grisley Bear. The Indians set fire to a hill where the Bear was in and he rushed on the Old Man, and bit him badly besides burning him" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 8, 1865). George Nurse also mentions this in a letter written two days before Kelly's: "I hear one of the Snakes that was in Last fall at the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has shot himself the other has been nearly Killed by a Grisley Baer" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

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K 648 201. NA. BIA. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 2, 1866. It will be noted that Rinehart speaks of Motcunka'skEt's questionable loyalty. Lindsay Applegate, writing a few months later, mentions that "The Yahooskin Snakes are considered to some extent doubtful..." (NA. BIA. OS. Klamath Indian Sub-agency, Ore., Oct. 25, 1866). Here again the Klamath chief Motcunka'skEt and the post-1864 treaty Yahooskins are equatable.

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202. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 9, 1866.

203. Ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 13, 1866.

N 648 204. Ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., July 24, 1866. General George Crook started campaigning against the Oregon Snakes in the winter of 1866-1867 (Crook, Autobiography, pp. 142-159). The Army was active during the summer of 1866, however, before Crook arrived.

205. Perhaps Capt. Jesse Walker; see pp. 113-114, fns. 49, 120.

206. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 78.

N K 648 207. P. 115, fn. 133.

208. Motcunka'skEt was probably at the Agency with Applegate for the "talk" with the Snakes.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
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Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over, the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out

[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

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early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber. In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk and the women to pick huckleberries.[6]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the *wada* (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child. Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother. Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

[6] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get *wada* there was reciprocal exchange.

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holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

Wada, tsuga, yapa, crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared, even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

THE role of sorcery in social control can be understood only in terms of the concept of supernatural power. There are three main types of such power recognized by the Harney Valley Paiute: *pu.ha*, doctoring power; *madaiya*, other types of good power[1]; and *pu ha.ha*, sorcery power. All of these are thought to be bestowed on individuals by spirit helpers. In general, those individuals who have certain special talents are said to possess good power, while those who are thought to be "bad actors" are said to have sorcery power.

In general, the types of good power bestowed upon individuals by their supernatural friends are useful in meeting those problems posed by the environment for which no satisfactory realistic solutions are provided by Paiute culture. The doctors,[2] the men who have *pu.ha*, are the only people who can diagnose and cure disease. Their ability to do this is completely dependent upon their spirit helpers, who are invoked by them to discover the cause of the illness and to effect a cure. In addition to the doctors, there are individuals who, by virtue of their power, are able to practice certain minor therapeutic techniques. Some treat local aches and pains by letting blood; others specialize in treating trachoma, a very common malady, by scraping the inflamed eyelids with rye grass.

Some of the unsolved problems were posed in the old days by dangers from rattlesnakes and bears. Moccasins were poor protection, and many Paiutes were bitten by rattlers. Most people are still extremely cautious even when they are protected by heavy shoes, and women carry sticks with them when walking in the sagebrush. Some individuals, however, do not fear rattlesnakes; in fact, it is said that they are on friendly terms with them and even pick them up in their hands and talk to them. Some of these people can cure bites and influence the snakes not to attack their friends. In the old days some men had power over bears. They were envied because they dared to hunt them and as a result procured skins which made more satisfactory blankets than those of rabbit skin. It is reported that these men went into caves and killed the bears with sticks.

In former times some men had antelope power, and they led the communal drives. They were said to be able to discover the antelope, to decide where the corral should be built, and to lure the animals into it. They could tire them

[1] Other types of good power are sometimes called *pu.ha* also, and not distinguished from doctoring power.

[2] The term *doctor* has been used here for the medical practitioner and *sorcerer* for a person who has bad power. Only rarely were doctors also sorcerers in Paiute society.

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magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

It should be noted that one informant expressed the belief that all shamans who derive powers from the bear practise sorcery. According to this man, Henry Williams:

> A witch-doctor gets power from a bear. When a person is sick and dreams about a bear or about a man who looks like a bear, he knows that a doctor with that power made him sick. The power from the bear is the strongest of all the powers. A good doctor cannot cure anyone who has been bewitched by a man with bear-power.

This view was only partially confirmed by several informants. Others held that supernatural power derived from the bear carries no more possibility of sorcery than the powers of other spirits.

Shamanistic Doctoring

Curing is the chief function of the Paviotso shaman. It is always a public performance, with spectators participating to a certain extent in the treatment of the sick. These curing practices are the most important ceremonial performances of the shamans. The charming of antelope in the course of communal drives is the only other important public ceremony.[13] The Paviotso shaman gives no mid-winter ceremony to prove or strengthen his power, nor is power acquired in a public performance. Curing, then, is not merely the shamanistic treatment of disease but also an important public ceremony, without doubt the principal religious activity.

There are no public initiations or trials for the new Paviotso shamans. When a shaman feels that he has sufficient power and knowledge to undertake the treatment of patients, he lets it be known. Novices or shamans with newly acquired power usually receive no instruction from older practitioners, the knowledge revealed to them by their powers being sufficient to enable them to cure. Naturally, the shaman is already quite familiar with curing practices from attending the performances of other shamans. However, some of the younger shamans are known to have received training from older doctors, and fathers are said to have

[13] The dances held in connection with the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890 were not shamanistic performances. There is evidence that the prophets of both movements, with the possible exception of Wovoka, were not shamans (doctors) until after they had ceased to lead dances to bring about the return of the dead. In the minds of the Paviotso, there is no connection between those dances and the shaman's performance.

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787 the danger and evil inherent in so much of the dream experiences.
756 The clairvoyant detection of theft and the finding of lost or stolen property is within the scope of a few shamans, but as with other non-curing aspects of shamanistic functions, this is not widely practised. Several informants gave anecdotal accounts of these practices, but others seemed to think that such powers were not within the scope of shamanistic activities. Certainly invoking clairvoyant powers to track down a thief or to locate misplaced belongings played only a minor rôle in Paviotso life.

There is no evidence that clairvoyants have power that differs from the supernatural gifts of other shamans. It is more in the nature of a frill added by some shamans to the chief calling, that of curing.

Antelope Shamans

224 Communal activities play an important rôle in the economic life of the Paviotso. A large share of the meat supply is secured by drives in which a number of individuals participate. There is a [622] stereotyped form of drive for rabbits, for mud hens, and for antelope. A leader or head-man, elected or chosen for each drive, is responsible for the direction of the undertaking.

[796] These communal drives, like every other phase of Paviotso life, are tinged with religious belief and practice. The religious rites that must accompany daily activities are usually extremely simple, consisting of prayers and the observation of omens. The shaman does not take a leading part in these unelaborated prac-
224 tices. With the antelope-drive, however, the case is different, for
756 a shaman directs the activities of all who take part. Moreover, the success of the undertaking is dependent upon a shamanistic performance, which precedes the actual drive.

The shaman who is leader of the drive must have the spirit of the antelope as his source of power. This power is secured in one of the customary ways described previously. Apparently only men are antelope shamans, but in Paviotso theory, women may enjoy this as well as other powers. Shamans with power from the antelope frequently cure, in addition to charming antelope in the [776] communal drive. Other spirits may be invoked in curing practice, but only the antelope spirit is of assistance in charming the animals. An antelope shaman who also treats the sick is known as

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puhágəm or tunápuhágəm (tuná, antelope; puhágəm, shaman). If the antelope-charmer does not have curative powers, this term is not used; in fact there seems to be no word to designate the non-curing antelope shaman. 224 756

Almost no one living today has participated in an antelope-drive, as these have not been held for many years. The information that the older people could offer was derived largely from memories of the conversations and stories of a generation now dead. As might be expected, there are striking differences in the several accounts, but the generalized description given here includes the essential features without the variations in detail included in the versions given by several informants. [124]

The antelope-drive is called by a shaman who has the antelope spirit as power. He first sends out scouts to find a herd of antelope, but if anyone sees a herd he may go to an antelope shaman and tell him where the animals are. Some shamans are said to find the antelope herds simply by dreaming. In the spring, when food supplies are exhausted, there is often a strong public demand for the antelope shaman to exercise his power.

When the herd of antelope has been found, the procedure is first to build a corral of sagebrush-bark rope under the direction of the antelope shaman at a place which he has previously selected. A corral may be used a number of times, but it is the property of the shaman who directed the construction; at least other shamans make no use of it. When the rope has been prepared beforehand, the corral can be finished in a day. That night a dance is held either at the camp established near by or within the corral. Apparently there is no fixed rule for the length of the dance: several said that it lasts only a few hours, others that it is not over until morning. In the latter event, the dancers go out at daylight to drive in the antelope. During the dance the shaman sings his antelope-songs, goes into a trance, or otherwise performs in order to charm the antelope and make them docile when they are driven into the corral. [423]

Music for the singing and dancing in the charming rite is frequently provided by rubbing a rasp made by wrapping a bowstring around a piece of horn. The notched-stick rasp was reported by two informants. Several others told of rubbing an arrow 224 756 533

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756
[533] across a taut bowstring to provide musical accompaniment for the singing and dancing. The rattles customarily employed in the curing ceremony seem never to be used in charming antelope.

Early in the morning, when the dance is finished, the drive starts. Some people are stationed along the flaring wings of the corral, while others drive the herd between the converging lines into the corral. When the herd is safely inside, the entrance is closed. The participants are stationed around the corral in order to keep the antelope from breaking down the fence. Usually the killing does not take place until the following day. In the meantime, the guards build fires around the corral and keep a careful watch.

On the morning of the next day, a man noted as a runner enters the corral and drives the antelope around within the enclosure for several hours. The runner finally kills a young antelope, which he gives to the antelope shaman. Then the signal is given by the leader of the drive for the killing to begin; the animals are dispatched by hand. Each individual is regarded as the owner of all that he kills. A woman or an older child who does not have the strength to kill an antelope touches one or holds to some part of
[422] it until a man can offer assistance. By thus touching or holding an animal, ownership is established.

The first antelope killed as well as those dispatched by his own hands belong to the antelope shaman. He expects no pay nor any share in the animals killed by others as a reward for his services. The heads of all the antelope killed are collected and roasted in communal pits and shared by all; they are not given to the shaman as his fee.

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237 When the skull has been cleaned of all flesh, the bones, together with the jaw-bone, are hidden in a clump of sagebrush. This is believed to assure the success of future drives. Some informants said that the eyes are tied in pairs and hung on trees or buried in the ground where dogs and coyote cannot get at them. The bladder, si·nup[1], and a small pear-shaped organ, abui'wi (spleen?), are put into a hole and covered with dirt. The careful disposal of certain parts of the animal is not confined to the antelope-drive. When other large game, such as deer and mountain sheep, are killed, the hunter treats these organs and bones in the same way

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in order to protect his luck for future hunting. Moreover, every part of the carcass must be used, for if any of the flesh is wasted, the antelope will be angry and may not allow themselves to be seen and killed.

Men, women, and childran participate in the antelope-drive. Only women who are pregnant or menstruating are excluded. It is believed that the presence of a woman in either of these conditions causes the antelope to break through the corral fence and escape. Several informants said that the husbands of menstruating and pregnant women were also prohibited from taking part in the drive.

When the antelope shaman calls people together for a drive, he warns them about their behavior. Sexual intercourse among the married is forbidden during the several days required to build the corral. The tabu on sexual relations lasts until the antelope have been slaughtered. It is also forbidden for young people to flirt. People participating in the drive are not supposed to relieve themselves anywhere near the fence of the corral. The loss of any personal property within the corral is believed to weaken the fence; consequently everyone is warned to watch personal possessions carefully. These rules and prohibitions are not in force during the communal hunts held for other game.

Both Sarah Winnemucca and Lowie give details of the antelope drive. In general, the plan of procedure outlined by these writers is similar to that given here. According to Sarah Winnemucca, the antelope-charming lasted for five days, during which people were not to drop anything or stumble over sagebrush, and were to concentrate their thoughts on the antelope.[22] Features in her account unknown to informants today include a definite plan of the camp in which the participants stay, the corral composed only of mounds of stone and sagebrush a hundred yards apart with no fence between, the selection of two men as messengers to the antelope carrying large torches of sagebrush, and the encircling of the herd by the messengers on each of the five days that the performance lasted.[23] The "kind of drum" which is described is

[22] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 56.
[23] Ibid., 55-57.

224 The "kind of drum" which is described is
[534] but an elaborately constructed rasp.[34] The skin stuffed with grass around which cord is wound serves as a resonator when the rasp is rubbed with a stick.

One of Lowie's informants describes a drive lasting three days.
[534] The shaman and two assistants wear antelope-heads and paint themselves for a dance. A notched stick is rasped for music. During the ceremony, a shaman goes into a trance and imitates the call of the antelope. When the antelope are surrounded, two or three antelope are killed first and given to the shaman and his assistants.[35]

224 It is clear that the antelope shaman's performance has an im-
756 portant place in the shamanistic complex of the Paviotso. But as has been pointed out, the charming of game through the exercise of the shaman's power is confined entirely to the antelope-drive. The plan of procedure is highly variable, but the basic belief in the control of the antelope by supernatural power is clear. Antelope-charming, then, is the one well-recognized function of the shaman which is not a part of the all-pervading belief in curing. In fact, it is the only important shamanistic performance of the Paviotso that is not heavily charged with beliefs about the cause and control of disease.

The Position of the Shaman in the Social Order

756 At this late date, an assessment of the position of the shaman in Paviotso society is difficult. The social disintegration that has resulted from reservation life has destroyed much of the shaman's
[122] social influence and prestige. Consequently his part in the social fabric and in the daily life of aboriginal times can at best only be inferred.

756 There can be no doubt that the shaman was formerly an influ-
622 ential figure; the stronger his supernatural power the greater his social prestige. Thus the influence that he exerted was by no means confined to religious affairs and activities. A comparison of his social and political authority with that of the chief is, however, difficult, for any weighting of the respective importance of these officials is strange to Paviotso thinking. Certainly, in many in-

[34] Ibid., 56.
[35] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 304–305.

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sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 62/ 101

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook. 131

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough. Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place" given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village. [162] [114]

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place is ô-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1, although ô-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the seasons. [115] [103] [221]

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not 224 [221]

[see end plate 1 -- An.]

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224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 [824] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the [226] heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[a] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic arts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase [231] deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25*a*).

[113]

[a] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

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The same principle was used for catching coyotes. A post was firmly set in the ground, against which was tilted a large platform of poles covered with stones; figure 25*b* will convey a better idea than words of how the weight was released.

Natches said that bears were never seen in central Nevada, not even in the timber of the Pine Nut mountains. The Northern Paiute never wore robes made of bear skin, although the Bannock wore them. It is said that the ancient people at the cave had blankets made from

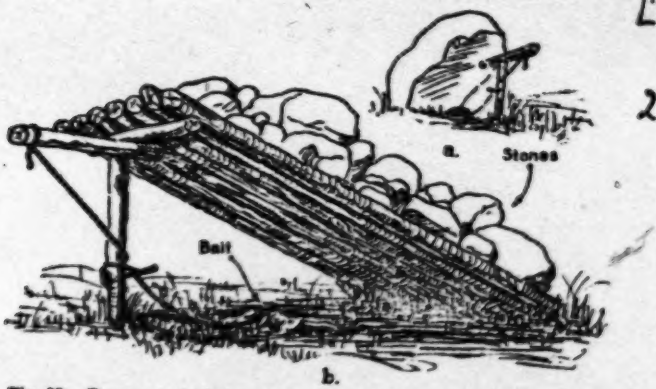

Fig. 25.—Traps. *a*, single large stone for crushing ground squirrels and small game; *b*, trap for coyote and wildcat: post set in ground; bait is attached to unstably set trigger; cord wrapped once about the post and attached at lower end to trigger, at upper end to pole, unstably balanced on top of the post; platform of poles covered with rock to crush the entrapped animal.

twisted strips of mud hen skin. Only poor people would dress that way. Usually the Northern Paiute wore rabbit skin robes, also robes of the skins of mice and other small game. After the acquisition of the horse a few of the richest Northern Paiute, those who were good hunters and great travelers, came into possession of buffalo skin blankets. But these were obtained from the regions to the east. Panthers were never seen in central Nevada and although plentiful on the timbered mountains of California, were so difficult to kill that no one could hope to possess a blanket of panther skin.

To catch jackrabbits the whole band of Indians, men, women, and children, lined up across the valley, beat the bushes, and drove them into a corner near the river. The rabbits would not swim, but would follow the bank till they were caught in a seine net stretched across a 30-foot gap between the stream and a hill.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

224 Cottontail rabbits were snared as they passed along their trails under willow bushes. A willow was bent over and secured with a string which choked the cottontail when the willow was released.

222 [221] *Eggs and young birds.*—After the Northern Paiute had obtained a supply of ground squirrels in the mountains, they returned to Humboldt lake in late spring to secure bird eggs, and young ducks before they were able to fly. The greasewood bushes near Perth were especially mentioned as a good place for the securing of duck eggs. At this season also pollen from the cat-tail rush was gathered to make candy.

226 [221] *Fishing.*—As soon as the willows began to put forth their leaves, the Northern Paiute went to Truckee river. At just about the same time that the young birds began to fly, the kuyui fish that wintered in Pyramid lake went up the river as far as Reno. The river is so steep that the fish got tired after spawning and hence did not go all the way up to Lake Tahoe. During the entire summer the Indians stayed on Truckee river and at Pyramid lake and dried large quantities of fish to take to their homes at Humboldt lake. After ice had formed in the river a stone ice pick was used to cut an opening across the stream in which was placed a seine net. A few men would be stationed at the net, then all the remainder of the band, women and children as well as men, would go up the river and then come down over the ice stamping and pounding with stones to scare fish downstream. When the crowd reached the net each person participating in the drive took a fish from the men stationed at the net.

226 825 From the names employed, it would appear that the Northern Paiute recognize four classes of fish and about nine species, doubtfully identified from the description by Natches as follows:[42]

1. awago.—Red sucker, 6 to 10 inches long in Humboldt lake, and 12 to 14 inches long in Pyramid lake. *Catostomus tahoensis.*

2. tui-pagwI.—A minnow or sucker, 3 inches long in Humboldt lake, and sometimes 5 to 6 inches long in Pyramid lake. The last part of the name is the root word, as Natches said, for all kinds of fish, while the first part seems to be descriptive of a variety. *Siphoteles obesus* or *Lenoidius pectinifer.*

3. hu-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 to 3 inches long in Humboldt lake; found also in Truckee river. *Richardsonius egregius.*

4. how-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 inches long in Humboldt lake; also in Truckee river. *Agosia robusta.*

5. agui.—Mountain trout, found at Elko and said to have formerly been in Humboldt lake; 10 to 12 inches long, weighing 1½ pounds. In Lake Tahoe it is larger weighing 2 pounds and having a maximum diameter of 4 inches. *Coregonus williamsoni.*

[113] [42] J. O. Snyder, The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada, in Bull. U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 35, Document 843, pp. 31–86, 1917. Ten genera and 14 species of fishes native to the Lahontan basin are described.

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24. Nadu' pikwa ("Rocky"). Shinn Peaks at the north end of Secret Valley are given this name. 103 133

25. Sawa nõna ("Brush Set"). Secret Valley is given this name. Susy Buster stated that both the Wadátkuht and the Kamõtkuht used this area. It is true that the villages in Secret Valley had some Kamõtkuht people in them, but the villages were Wadátkuht. It must be kept in mind that the Secret Valley Wadátkuht and the Kamõtkuht were apparently quite neighborly. [648]

26. Sawá kudak^{W} ("Sagebrush Mountain"). This mountain, Snowstorm Mountain, is located about five miles north of Karlo in T32N/R14E.

27. Hudzí kudak^{W} ("Sagehen Mountain"). This low sage-covered hill is about four miles east of Karlo and one mile east of Highway 395 in T31N/R15E.

28. Suhngavi ("Cottonwood"). Stoney Creek, a tributary of Secret Creek, has this name. Stoney Creek is about five miles east of Karlo.

29. Masaida patsóna ("Watercress(?) Spring"). This spring is about one and a half miles north of Karlo and a short distance north of the archaeological site Las-7, also known as the Karlo site. This particular spring was not visited with my informant but is probably located in Section 5 or 6 of T31N/R15E.

30. Saga' patsóna ("Willow Spring"). This is a spring at the Shinn ranch (in T33N/R16E) where hunting parties went for deer and groundhogs (marmots) in the spring. This feature was not visited with my informant so the exact location was not recorded. [224]

31. Atsa' tukatud ("Red Dome"). This is the name for Red Rock (a mountain or hill) near (in T35N/R15E) the Red Rock post office on the northeastern side of Madeline Valley. A more exact location for this feature was not obtained since it was not visited with my informant.

32. Saib ("Tule"). Cold Springs, located about three miles north of Red Rock in T36N/R15E, bears this name because of the tules growing there. Both this feature and the previous one might properly be said to be in Kamotkuht territory, however, the Wadátkuht had access to them as if their own. My [137]

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103 133 informant, Ike Northrup, did not specify whether these features belonged in the territory of one group or the other.

33. Tukudak^{W} ("Rock Peak"). This feature (elevation 5,053 feet) is a rocky mass or knob appearing on the southeast slope of Sawá kudak^{W}. It is about two or three miles west of the site of the former Secret Valley C. C. C. camp which was located just north of the road to Karlo where it turns west from Highway 395.

34. Saib patsóna ("Tule Spring", called "Tule Patch" in English by the informant). This feature is a spring on the west edge of Highway 395 a short distance before the summit as one leaves Secret Valley going north to Madeline Plains. At the present time water piped from the spring provides a watering stop for travelers. The location of this spring is in T33N/R15E and seemingly in the NW¼ of Section 28. [312] The Wadátkuht did not have any sort of camp at this spring but just used it for a watering stop.

35. Musitzi (meaning was not known by informant). Musitzi is the name for Madeline Plains as well as the name for a small hill south of Cold Springs (see Item 32 above). The precise location of this small hill was not obtained as it was not visited with my informant. Only the eastern half of Madeline Plains belonged to the Paiute as the western half belonged to the Pit River people.

[361] The Wadátkuht had no winter villages in Madeline Plains because of the increased elevation and severity of the winter [224] months as compared to Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley. In the fall, however, rabbits and deer were hunted here. And [172] it seems likely that the eastern (Paiute) portion of Madeline Plains was shared by the Wadátkuht and the Kamôtkuht. Evidence in the form of extensive archaeological sites indicate that this region was occupied in ancient times.

36. Pówhanun^{O} ("To Scrape Hair From a Hide"). This feature is a range of mountains about five miles east of Horse Lake and several miles west of Spanish Springs in T33N/R14E.

37. Pínaktud ("Between Two Mountains"). This mountain, Spanish Springs Peak, is located between Shinn Peaks and [224] Observation Peaks in T33N/R15E. It is of particular significance because deer were hunted here.

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39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian°, "Point"). This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern extension of Pinaktud (Item 37 above). 133 103

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt. [224]

41. Yapúwhai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai banú muhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The Wadátkuht village of ᵏTavi wanud was located on the north end of the lake. [137] [361]

44. Wada banú muhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from the fact that certain areas about the lake support a considerable growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named. The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm. [137] [101]

45. Kukwaᵖta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E. [789]

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root). This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering. [262]

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey [136]

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POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites. 361 [177]

The justification for mentioning these post-contact habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained. [182]

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd[a] ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. He was buried about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death. [312] [551]

The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. The Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with [525] [172] [224]

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361 [224] their bow hand as they shot their arrows (personal communication with Dr. Louis Payen of Sacramento).

2. Sometimes the Indians camped about a quarter of a mile west of the Hostetter ranch house at the archaeological site Las-107, rather than at the camp just noted above. This is an example of continued use of an ancient site, or at least a re-occupation.

3. One of the more important post-contact villages was the one located on the Jim McClelland ranch on the north side of Honey Lake (T29N/R15E). Archaeological sites in the area demonstrate its native use in pre-contact times. Modern use probably began circa 1870 and continued until approximately 1920. There is no record of an occupation continuus from aboriginal times, however. Kitty Joaquin's mother died at this camp and was buried beneath a lone juniper tree about a quarter mile south of the ranch house. As a blessing, or for good luck, relatives of the woman would throw coins and beads at the tree as they passed by.

4. During haying season Joaquin's group used to camp at Will Dill's ranch near Seven Bridges in the delta of Susan River a short distance from the north shore of Honey Lake. [881] It was at this camp that Kitty Joaquin went through her puberty ceremony. She ran five miles to the hill behind Litchfield and returned each day during her ceremony.

361 464 [221] The camp at the Dill Ranch, like that at McClelland's place seems to have been seasonally occupied to provide a labor force for the various ranchers. The Indians, during the post-contact period until approximately the early 1920's substituted seasonal ranch work for their aboriginal seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. The pattern remained much the same but working for wages tended to replace hunting and gathering activities.

361 5. The Secret Valley group had a winter village on the sandy ridge a short distance east of the meadows bordering Secret Creek in the vicinity of the junction of the Karlo road and Highway 395. This sandy ridge extends from just south of this junction to about one mile north, to the vicinity of the present Secret ranch. The Secret Valley Wadátkuht used to camp all along this ridge with apparently no specific spot preferred. By camping here they were handily located for work on the McKessick ranch, with their labors being primarily spent on haying.

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222 Kúa were caught and their legs torn off immediately and then prepared in the same manner as nishu. The kúa were caught wherever they were found in sufficient quantities and were simply picked from the brush, apparently while cold and inactive in the morning.

[224] Yapa and hunípui roots were dug in June or July in the vicinity of Eagle Lake. While in the area the Wadátkuht hunted ducks and deer. Excursions were made to Eagle Lake despite the fact that it lay outside their recognized territory.

Also utilized for food were píshta (wild plum) and tsanab[1] (a round fruit similar to the wild plum). These were gathered in the late summer wherever they were available in quantity.

272 Pleasant hot drinks were made from dútu (Mormon tea) and from tatsí tun'[a] (peppermint). These plants were dried and boiled to make a tea. The informants knew of no use for the manzanita berries.

222 After the sunflower seeds and the chokecherries were harvested the Wadátkuht would go after pine nuts (tubá mai, "pine nut go") in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada. By this time it was in the fall of the year. The pine nuts were gathered as quickly as possible so that the people could return home in time to gather acorns. A single family might gather about ten sacks of pine nuts in a season. The informants did not make it clear whether the Wadátkuht made this [177] trip for pine nuts before contact times or not. Since the distance is well over 100 miles one might guess that not until the introduction of the horse did the Wadátkuht utilize the pine nut to the extent indicated by the informants.

[252] Wild rose berries (tsiá bui) were eaten fresh when ripe and are said to "taste like persimmons".

[137] The most important single food plant product in the Wadátkuht territory was the acorn. The two major places for gathering acorns were in the timbered belt of oaks and pines between Buntingville and Milford and were called Wiuhpa woiyuad[a] and Wiuhpa mutsakian[o]. Acorns often could be gathered in large enough quantities some years to last for two or [251] three years. Excess acorns were stored in a pit dug into the ground and lined with oak leaves, pine needles, and similar material. The pit was covered over and the acorns were dug

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222 [251] up when they were needed. Usually when they were dug up they were easier to crack as they had swollen.

Both "Sour-dock" and "Pig Weed" were eaten as greens. An aquatic plant called masaidup (possibly watercress) was also eaten fresh.

227 Bone fish hooks were used and were called túta·m. Kitty Joaquin could not recall what they looked like but said that "some old men still make them for use in Pyramid Lake". It seems probable that she had reference to bone gorge hooks.

An "A" frame type dip net was used for catching fish from a tule balsa on Honey Lake and its sloughs.

The informants did not say that they used conical fish traps but they had seen ones of willow used by a few Paiute people around Pyramid Lake. Fisherman were called hakaigiad.

226 Both Long Valley Creek and the sloughs in the delta of Susan River were considered to be good places to fish. Types of fish caught include a sucker (ak'wugh°), a small "trout" (pakwi), large trout (agai), and catfish (not native), (musungí pakwi, "whisker trout").

262 Birds eaten by the Wadátkuht include the small blue heron (wasá), the white swan (wohít), the Canadian honker (nagút), ducks (pöhü), avocets (kutí kuti) and blackbirds (pakoduhpa).
[223] Pelican, duck and geese eggs were gathered in the swampy region near the mouth of the Susan River.

Small mammals eaten by the Wadátkuht include the porcupine (möhü or tsagüd), Golden-mantled squirrel (tabá), chipmunk (wóda'), wild cat (tuhu), badger (huna), and marmot (kidü). Several types of rabbits, especially the jackrabbit, were of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht.

224 Rabbit drives were usually made in the fall and winter. A long net held up by a series of sticks was used for this purpose. A number of people would drive the rabbits into the net while several men watched the net. When a rabbit hit the net he became enmeshed because the net fell on him. The men tending the net killed the rabbits and hung them by their heads from a belt around their waists.

Rabbits were attracted to the hunter who made a "kissing" sound with his lips. This sound was similar to that made by

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224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the informants named a number of specific places where deer were [103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Toka kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunai katud), the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Paguahuhad), and at Hot Springs Mountain (Tusi katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide. The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached [177] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut, [262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To [412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately [262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung [251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean [237] and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsi'wi', [192] from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the [264] Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.

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[412]

To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

● 224
[283]

Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756]
[789]

The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136]

Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

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Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamõtkuht territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground on a metate before it could be used. The Wadátkuht also traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunui^{yu}, was traded from the people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht call these Pit River people Tunui^{yu}tkuht.

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Wadátkuht

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Love Charm. Some old men mixed some sort of herbs and put it on their hands and then they patted and touched young women and girls so that the girls would be doped and go to sleep. They became infatuated with the old men and were willing to sleep with them. Some women are said to have had this sort of charm over men.

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789

Hunting Charm. When a Wadátkuht killed a deer he buried the bladder, simup, where he killed the animal. The bladder was buried behind the first log, rock or bush nearby. As the bladder was buried, the hunter said to it: "Yan^{a}kas^{a} nu^{u} naiyudua", "I will find you here." By doing this the hunter was assured of finding a deer at this same spot when he chose to return.

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Kitty said that a Wadátkuht man used to catch owls and eagles by painting his naked body and by singing in front of the birds perched nearby. As he sang he moved slowly toward the bird until he was close enough to grasp it with his hands.

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Supernatural Helpers. Ike told the following stories of individuals who had superhuman abilities given them by their power, or helper. Johnny Monday left Fort Bidwell one morning, and around noon he got to Summit Lake. Here he ate lunch and rested for a bit and then started on. He got to Fort McDermitt that evening at sundown. A conservative estimate of the distance he would have had to travel is about 140 miles. It was dove, ihov^{i}, of whom he dreamed when he got his power, and it was this bird that made him so fleet of foot. The last time Ike saw this old man was around 1924, which suggests that Johnny may have been born around 1850, or somewhat earlier.

Black Jack gave his blanket to Bob Dodge to carry on the latter's horse with him. Black Jack said that he would start on ahead on foot and that Bob Dodge could catch up with him on the horse. Bob went out and caught and saddled his horse and set out shortly thereafter. He did not catch up with Black Jack until he got to Potato Patch, about 32 miles north of Nixon, Nevada and about 31 miles south of Gerlach. Black Jack was resting when Bob found him. They both rested here for awhile and then Black Jack told Bob to go catch the horse and when he (Bob) caught up with him, he could give him (Black Jack) a ride behind the saddle. Bob caught the horse and began to follow Black Jack's tracks. The tracks looked as if he were merely walking, not running. Bob galloped and trotted his horse but did not catch up with

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 22 [PT] At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than 161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq. mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and 132 Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a lim- 161 iting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that 22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the max- 182 imum food supply.

224 [226] [222] I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years. [476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization be- [571] cause the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 22 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

N W 136 174 182 114

Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

N 224 182

If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

N W [618]

N 231 177

The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the